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A National Symposium.

ESSAYS ON

SOUTH AFRICAN SUBJECTS

BY

SOUTH AFRICAN WRITERS

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INTRODUCTION.

The following series of Essays comprising the "National Symposium" which formed part of the Diamond Jubilee Edition of the "Natal Mercury" on November 25th, 1912, have been reprinted in handy form at the request of a large number of our readers.

THE EDITOR,
"Natal Mercury."

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CONTENTS.

South African Policy. By the Hon. J. G. Maydon - - 1

Unionist Policy. By Hugh Meyler, M.L.A. - - - - 4

The Policy of the South African Party. By Sir William Beaumont - - 5

Policy of the South African Labour Party. By F. H. P. Cresswell, M.L.A. - 7

The Creed of Socialism. By the Rev. Morris O. Hodson, M.A. - - 10

A Plea for the Application of Scientific Methods to the Question of Race Relations in South Africa. By Maurice S. Evans - - - - 13

The Native Problem Simply Solved. By the Rev. A. T. Bryant - - 16

Segregation. By the Rev. John Dube - - - - 20

Missions in Natal. By Lewis E. Hertslet, M.R.C.S., &c. - - - 22

Union Finance. By James Henderson, M.L.A. - - - 23

South African Defence. By P. A. Silburn, D.S.O., M.L.A. - - 25

Harbours of British South Africa. By Cathcart W. Methven, F.R.S.E., &c. - 28

Railway Policy in South Africa. By Sir David Hunter, K.C.M.G. - - 33

Agricultural Policy. By E. W. Evans, M.E.C. - - - - 34

Trade of South Africa. By W. A. Martin - - - - 36

A Policy of Protection. By Karl Gundelfinger - - - - 39

The Necessity for Maintaining Effective Representation Overseas. By Francis Harrison, F.R.G.S. - - - - - - 41

Provincial Councils. By F. A. Laughton, K.C. - - - - 44

Electoral Reform. By John Brown, M.D. - - - - 45

Women's Enfranchisement in South Africa. By Miss Margaret Murchie, B.A. - 47

Municipal Government in South Africa. By W. P. M. Henderson - - 49

Town Planning. By Herbert Baker, F.R.I.B.A. - - - 50

Art in Sonth Africa. By T. C. Gotch, R.B.C., R.I. - - - 53

South African Literature.—By Professor Besselaar, M.A. - - - 55

Religious Forces in South Africa. By Rev. W. Pedr. Williams - - 57

The Part of Electricity in the Progress of South Africa. By John Roberts - 59

A NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM.

Special Articles on South African Subjects.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY.

(BY THE HON J. G. MAYDON.)

During the whole of the existence of the various South African Colonies now forming the Union, there has been nothing in the conduct of public business of any one of them that could by any stretch of courtesy be designated as national.

The very nature of things compelled a strictly domestic conduct of affairs calculated to place each individual entity on the best of terms with its immediate neighbour, or with that neighbour from whom most benefit could be derived by a good relationship with itself, even at the cost of a strained fellowship with the rest.

One of the singular, if not unique, products of this policy has been the admission on the most favoured terms of a Colony belonging to a foreign and European State to an almost full partnership with the Union—full, indeed, in all practical and material issues, though not in the political sense, and only partially in the fiscal.

The situation thus created merits examination at a later stage in this paper.

The first glimmerings of the light of a wider realisation manifested itself perhaps in the proffer of help from all, and the actual help from some, of the other South African Colonies to Natal in the black days of the native rebellion in 1906.

For one hesitates to ascribe to the science of politics the still earlier form of Union which was arrived at by the Customs Convention of 1898—not because it is not truly an item of general policy, but because it sprang from the compulsion of the necessity of avoiding fiscal strife rather than from any desire to act in consonance.

But here let it at once be admitted that a distinction must not be drawn between the policies which are adopted because of the force of circumstance and those which arise from the steady intelligent work of the brains of public men, but I am noting the difference here in the initial causes of the two instances of common action—i.e., of general policy—in order to make the point that directly the line of concerted action was adopted by calculation, the value of general union rapidly came to be an active and potent force in the public mind.

But whilst allowing that the compulsion of circumstances may produce as useful a consequence as the studied effort of the educated brains of the country—the brains educated to the conduct of public affairs are meant—yet the latter cause of progress is infinitely preferable, inasmuch as the former springs from crises more or less acute, and it is desirable that our advance should proceed from careful study and intelligent anticipation of events, rather than be precipitated by the stress of circumstance.

And here let the point again be made that, though it is both useful and convenient that we should have public men devoting their lives to the work of the State, yet if the best is to be got out of their brainwork, the brains of the ordinary citizen must also be active and intelligent, in order that the public will may support the wise anticipatory solution of problems which the public mind has grasped.

Are there, then, matters concerning the Union which are anything more than domestic?

Let us at once realise that very many, if not most, of the enactments made to regulate purely domestic matters are found to influence affairs far beyond the domestic boundaries.

During our short life as a united Colony we have more than once miscalculated the range of our legislation, and been compelled to modify it because its arrows were carrying over the border.

We have, therefore, to divide our subject into two classes, nay, three:

(a) Our relationship with the outside world.

(b) Development within the Union.

(c) Domestic affairs which have consequential results outside the Union.

The South African Government has already taken up one phase of that very important part of our relationship with the outside world—the ability to defend ourselves. But one phase only. And the Prime Minister has recently pleaded that the other part of the question—maritime strength—must have time for public opinion to ripen upon it, for the two sections of the nation to grow more into community, so that both may willingly act. The chief objection to this plea—and, like the old woman's ninety-ninth reason, it's the one conclusive one—is that time is the one element we haven't got. The world's events move so rapidly in this twentieth century that the Power that is unready is hopelessly overwhelmed.

Supposing the maritime supremacy of England were to disappear, what would South Africa lose? I think the reply must inevitably be:

The absolute safety of present-day navigation;

The open door markets of the world;

Freedom from international quarrels and problems.

If this view is correct as to only one of the three results I foresee, how great a burden will at once be laid on South African shoulders. If we have to convoy our grain argosies to their markets, what will it cost? If hostile tariffs are set up against us in what are now neutral markets, what fall in value in our articles of production may be expected? If the status quo which England more than any other Power (or all together) is the means of maintaining, is upset, what cost in an extensive diplomatic service of our own will ensue, what liability of being involved in international troubles will exist, with German territory lying on one border and Portuguese on the other, especially in view of the fact of the special advantages we have ourselves conferred on the latter.

Although coming from me, so consistent an opponent of the Mozambique Treaty, the advice may savour of interested, or at least prejudiced, motives, I do nevertheless again urge that, both from the economic and the diplomatic point of view, the question of the renewal of this Treaty should be very carefully weighed and jealously scrutinised.

Space warns me to pass at once to the second class of subjects of South African policy. I place foremost

The Native Policy.

We are too apt to follow the evil example of the sufferer in the fable. We have heard this cry of "wolf" so often that we are prone to dismiss the warning from our minds. We are apt, too, to measure the forces of barbarism, and the aims it cherishes, by what we know of it in the past, wilfully oblivious of the fact that the changes barbarism is undergoing are little, if any, less rapid, or less far-reaching than the changes we are noting in our own order. True, they are not of the same character as the changes in the white race, but they are of their kind as radical, and what might be educed as the probable course the black people would take from a knowledge of the black people a quarter of a century ago, would be utterly incorrect as regards the black people of to-day. Do we really know that these people are as content with things as we like to believe? Do we know that they are agreeable to playing the part of a hewer of wood and drawer of water to the self-satisfied white race for all time? Are we not, indeed, totally ignorant of the mental evolution of this people? I suppose we must agree there is a mental evolution. What is it? What is its character? What are its aims?

One thing is quite certain from the rate at which these people are increasing as compared to ourselves, viz., that if any real discontent exists or comes into existence in the future, we have the elements for a struggle from which, in the interests of both races, no effort is too great to ensure an escape.

European Settlement.

I fear I am at heart as conservative as the late President of the Transvaal Republic, and view as jealously almost as himself the coming of the stranger into our heritage. Not that I don't want the stranger to come. I do—and in great numbers. But the newcomers that we desire are to be the strong people of the earth, strong in thew and muscle, strong in character, strong for effort. Obviously, these are a very select sample

of men and women, and we must have very attractive openings to bring such people to our shores. What have we got? And the answer is that naturally we are endowed with all that is wanted to ensure the success of such a people if they can be induced to come. And the offsets are mostly artificial. With some of these we have successfully battled. No longer is it entirely true that

Half her land was dead with drouth,
Half was red with battle:
She was fenced with fire and sword,
Plague on pestilence outpoured,
Locusts on the greening sward,
And murrain on the cattle!

On the contrary, most of these ills are already conquered, and the rest are fairly tackled. We have, then, splendid climate, rich soil, the opportunity for temperate and cleanly life. But we are doing nothing to let the numerous people who desire this very thing know that they can find it here. It is urged that we should give the chance first to our own people, those already on the spot. And were the opportunity limited one might agree, but we have here almost endless openings, first in the development of the soil, and following it in the industrial opportunity that would result. Can we therefore afford to postpone the effort to bring settlers to South Africa? And if not ought we not all to be working to secure the introduction of such people confident that the elements of success are here, and conscious of the advantages to the country which would follow the acquisition of such settlers.

Economics.

There has crept into our economical system the false method of unequal treatment. It is not unknown for two industries exactly similar in character to enjoy from Government totally unequal treatment. A set of railway rates applying in a district must not be assumed as necessarily pertaining to any other venture starting the same business in that district. The granting to a new coal mine in a part of the Union more favourable rates than any competitor formed a subject of parliamentary debate 18 months since, and the proceeding was actually condoned by Parliament on the ground that consideration was given, in the right conceded Government to purchase from the enterprise at will, at a fixed price, for a term of years. An act of robbery exonerated by the right to piracy. A sense of the importance of resisting any departures from absolutely equal treatment has only grown up, so far, in respect to shipping; let us hope it will rapidly grow to an equal strength with regard to the transactions of the country's Government.

Unfortunately, the Constitution itself contains in Clause 127 a provision of most heterodox economy, wherein it is declared that the railways of the Union shall be run without profit, and used for the encouragement of "inland" agriculture and industries in each Colony.

I venture to say that the principle of making an enormous investment of public capital and laying the investment under the embargo of contributing nothing to the general revenue is utterly wrong, and cannot be defended on any grounds of sound economy.

But when to this is added the very extraordinary form of discrimination provided by the word emphasised in the above quoted clause of the Constitution, it will be manifest that we have therein laid down a principle which may easily raise the Railway Administration above all forms of law and justice.

Finally, we come to those purely domestic matters which, nevertheless, have a wide influence in furthering or retarding the prosperity of the State.

Finance Acts, Stamp Acts, and Bankruptcy Acts are all of this character, with no doubt others that do not occur to me.

We have already discovered how seriously our affairs may be influenced by the effect outside the Union of Acts of the character enumerated in the first two classes of the above Acts. An insufficiently profound study of the effects of an Act to tax, among other things, foreign investments in South African enterprises, and a similar attempt to lay the foreign investor under contribution in the shape of stamps on transfer deeds, paralysed business for a time, and ended investments by foreign capitalists in South African enterprises of a particular class. The revenue thus did not benefit, whilst enterprise was injured.

There is no department of South African policy which should be more carefully studied or more jealously guarded than its financial arrangements. A hastily prepared Bill or an ill-considered impost may impair credit which a lifetime of discreet Treasury control may fail to restore.

These appear to me some of the very important points of South African policy, which merit close and deep study, and the neglect of any of them may, and, as I think, almost necessarily must, lead to national disaster.

UNIONIST POLICY

(BY HUGH MEYLER, M.L.A.)

"His Majesty's Opposition" in South Africa was formally brought into being at Bloemfontein towards the latter end of May, 1910.

The Union of South Africa was to commence on May 31, and already it was known in political circles that all the strenuous attempts made by Dr. Jameson and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick to avoid the old racial division of parties had failed. It was known, too, that General Botha was to be the first Prime Minister, and that he had surrendered to the reactionary element among his own people, and would include in his Cabinet only blind partisans who cared only for the interests of his own race.

Dr. Jameson, with characteristic magnanimity, laid it down as a principle that until the affairs of the Union had got into working order, the Party which he fathered was to assist General Botha in any sound legislation, although from the inception of the Unionist Party our leader recognised the vital necessity of having a "strong Opposition" ready to act whenever required.

Throughout the first session "the Doctor" (now known officially as Sir Starr Jameson) adhered strictly to his policy of "helping Botha," and kept in check the more hot-headed members of his Party, who were anxious to get at the premier's throat. This was no easy task, as General Botha had done little enough to merit assistance, and by the constitution of his Ministry, the grabbing of scandalously high salaries for them (and himself), his futile attempts to crush the Apostle of a Fresh Start at Pretoria, and many other atrocities, the Prime Minister was showing his true colours.

The Government supporters, lacking in all sense of chivalry, claimed credit for the good legislation which the Opposition had helped them to knock into shape, and continued a series of bitter attacks on the Unionists. The "man in the street" did not understand the finer statesmanship which actuated Sir Starr Jameson, and the whisper went around that the fighting Opposition for which they had voted was moribund.

The Labour Party seized upon this idea and carefully nursed it on the Rand, where they gained some ephemeral support among the younger professional classes. Their action was perhaps legitimate in the game of party politics, but the action of the Government was despicable. For whenever General Botha was in the least difficulty with his own people, he would fly to the Unionist Party for help, but in the back-veld he would jeer at the policy of the high-minded man who cared for nothing but the needs of South Africa.

However, General Botha brought about his own undoing, and in the second session of the Union Parliament he was given a taste of real opposition. This opposition was perhaps more individual than collective, but the scouts discovered many weak points in the Government fortifications.

As soon as an attack was made, it became obvious that there were dissensions in Botha's own camp, and from time to time revolt was threatened. This trouble came mostly from the 16 Free State members who support the South African Party, and when their reactionary ideas were opposed to any Government measure, it was generally dropped at once.

The position became more acute after the resignation of Mr. Hull, followed by his exposure of the absolute ineptitude of the Prime Minister to control his Cabinet.

Had the Opposition forced matters more at this stage, the Government would have been compelled to face a most serious crisis; in fact, they would have suffered defeat in one division on the Irrigation Bill had Sir Thomas Smartt cared to go back on his own work in Select Committee and snatch a vote. The new leader of the Opposition preferred to act as an honest man rather than as a political opportunist, and disdained the advantage offered to him, but the incident brought home forcibly the disadvantages to an Opposition of too much combination between parties in Select Committees.

The second Parliamentary session showed the innate strength of the Unionist Party, and exposed the disintegration which is taking place in the Government ranks, and the future is full of interest.

There appear to be two policies open to the Opposition.

The first is that still advocated by some of the greybeards of the Party. They argue that even if the Government are beaten in Parliament, they can still retrieve their defeat at the polls, owing to the strength of the back-veld vote. There is a tendency amongst this section of the Unionists to still look to the possibility of a Coalition Government, in which Generals Botha and Smuts, with Mr. Hull and perhaps Mr. Burton, will cut adrift from the Hertzogs and the Sauers, and join forces with the progressive politicians of South Africa.

This is an alluring picture, but the majority of the Party believe that we shall not

reach such a Utopian stage in South African politics this side of the millennium. All faith in General Botha as a politician has been lost, and the more advanced section of the younger Unionists would consider as absolutely immoral any combination which retains General Botha as figurehead.

The second course means perhaps a long period of opposition before any Unionists will be found in the South African Cabinet, but even ten years is but as a day in the life of a country, and such a delay is of small consequence when questions of principle are at stake.

It will certainly be better for the Party as a whole to refrain from driving any energetic member into the wilderness, where he will preach his own advanced creed, and undoubtedly gather a strong following, and it is quite impossible for the Unionists to continue with any policy but that of active opposition.

Under this banner the Opposition will receive the support of the country, and if they stick closely to their old principles whilst daring to march forward, it will only be a matter of time before they rule South Africa.

The one great danger which the Unionist Party must avoid is to become self-satisfied and possibly hide-bound. They must recognise that the rise of the democracy is no passing phase in the politics of the world, and on no account must they fear to face the native problem or any other great question which may press upon South Africa.

THE POLICY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY.

BY SIR WILLIAM BEAUMONT.

(Late Senior Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Natal).

In response to an invitation by the editor of "The Natal Mercury," I beg to submit the following remarks on the policy of the South African Party. It must be understood, however, that I have no official status in the Party, nor am I in the confidence of Ministers. I am writing only as an ordinary member of the Party, and the views expressed are my own.

The general policy of the Party can best be given in General Botha's own words:— "I feel certain that a great majority of South Africans are in favour of the formation of a political party whose fundamental object shall be to make Union a real and abiding force in our future development, fully recognising South Africa as an integral part of the Empire" . . . . . "But behind and beyond these grave matters lies the great national problem of welding into one South African nation the various peoples who have made this country their permanent home" . . . ; and he then calls for all South Africans, of whatever race, to eliminate racialism and to unite in bringing about this great object, and to promote a healthy South African spirit in dealing with all political problems.

The principles of the Party are summarised in General Botha's manifesto, which was adopted as the basis of the constitution of the Party at the Bloemfontein Congress in November, 1911. The public are already sufficiently acquainted with these principles, and it is not necessary for me to recapitulate them here. It is sufficient to say that neither the policy nor the principles of the South African Party can be claimed to be the exclusive property of that Party, for, as a matter of fact, they are almost identical with the political programme of the Unionists, who form "the Opposition." It may, indeed, be truly said that every clear-sighted South African knows that the ideal of a united, peaceful and prosperous South Africa can only be reached by steadfastly adhering to these principles. There is, however, a vast difference between the mere agreement of parties on general principles and their ideas as to the methods by which these principles can best be given effect to; and it is here that we come to see the radical difference between the two parties. This radical difference is, no doubt, principally due to the national differences between English and Dutch in temperament, education and traditions; but it is a difference which is unfortunately further accentuated by the political division of the electorate into two opposing camps, as a result of the party system of Representative Government and the exigencies of party warfare.

When the Bloemfontein Congress of 1911 was held a unanimous request was made by the whole of the Dutch delegates that the first principle of the Party, as laid down in its Constitution, should be a declaration of their belief that Providence guides the destinies of nations. It must not be supposed that this was a merely formal recital. Far from it. It was the expression of a deeply religious people of a conviction which has been ever present with them; and it is of far greater significance than most people are aware. General Botha, when addressing a meeting of Dutchmen at Bloemfontein last September, said "It was a bitter thing to sign the

peace of Vereeniging." These words were addressed to brave men who felt, and still feel, the gall and bitterness of having to give up the freedom and independence which had been theirs, and for which, against fearful odds, and with enormous sacrifices, they had so long and strenuously fought. No brave and independent people could be expected to quickly or quietly accept such a fate. Indeed, were it not for their belief in Divine guidance it is not at all improbable that, following the war, we should have had a large section of the population refusing to accept the terms of peace and carrying on a guerilla warfare. But their belief in Divine guidance, the wiser counsels of their elders, and the magnanimous and sympathetic treatment meted out to them by the British Government have reconciled them to their fate. They are accepting it in good faith, and they are inspired by the hope that they may yet create, as a part of the British Empire, a great South African nation embracing all Europeans settled in South Africa, to whatever nationality they may belong. It may be admitted that there is a considerable section of the Dutch population—the ultra-Dutch—who from lack of education, from narrowmindedness, and prejudice arising from isolation from, and ignorance of, the outside world, are still unable to recognise the advantages of British citizenship, who cannot appreciate our progressive methods, and who do not share our feelings of veneration for the Mother Country and our Imperial patriotism. This is only what might be expected. It is for us to win them over by fair and equal treatment, by consideration for their language and their traditions, and by gradually educating them to a full appreciation of the great advantages of fellowship in the British Empire. If this is done our differences and prejudices will gradually disappear: we shall become a really united people; and we shall co-operate with them in making South Africa a great and worthy Dominion of the British Empire.

But there is another great difficulty in the way of a true union of the peoples. It is the irreconcilable attitude of what I may call the ultra-English section. This is largely due to ignorance of essential facts or an inability to form a true perspective of these facts when known. It has recently been said by a distinguished visitor that the Anglo-Saxon lacks the power of putting himself in the other man's place; but this is, perhaps, a fault that is common to all virile races. The ultra-Englishman parades his patriotism; he is always flag-wagging; he is incapable of tolerating equality, and ill brooks any check to his progressive tendencies; and by word and by action, whether he intends it or not, creates the impression that he regards himself as superior, and that the Dutch should be content to follow his lead.

We have become accustomed to booms in South Africa, and the English section is not satisfied unless we progress at express rate. The South African Party, on the other hand, realise that the rate of progress must be measured by the ability of their people to recognise the necessity for progressive measures, and that their intelligent concurrence and support are essential if such measures are to be prosecuted to a successful issue. In other words, the South African Party finds it necessary, sometimes, to mark time while the non-progressive section of their Party is being educated up to the mark. No doubt this is a cause of intense irritation to the progressive British section: but it is one of the factors of the situation, and only harm can result from a wilful disregard of it. The essential difference between the parties is that the policy of the South African Party is to proceed slowly and surely, while that of the Unionists is to make undue haste. Take, for instance, Immigration. The Unionists cry out for rapid immigration on a large scale, and they point to Canada and Australia as our examples. They ignore the totally different conditions obtaining in this country as compared with Australia or Canada; they shut their eyes to the enormous expenditure involved; and they take little or no heed of the very large number of resident and Colonial-born South Africans who are clamouring for settlement on the land. The leaders and advanced section of the South African Party realise, as fully as do the Unionists, the necessity for increasing the European population by means of immigration; but they cannot ignore the fact that the conditions of this country make immigration on a large scale impossible at the present time; they cannot ignore the prior claims of South Africans; they cannot ignore the fact that a considerable section of the Dutch are, as yet, opposed to immigration, and they would have to meet the necessary expenditure by taxation. They are, therefore, forced to adopt the motto of "festina lente"; but they are prepared to go as far and as fast as they with safety can. The Land Settlement Act, the Irrigation Act, the Land Bank Act, and the regulation of rates by sea and by land are measures which have been passed, not merely with the object of settling "Poor Whites" and "South Africans" on the land, but they are evidence of the fact that the South African Party recognise agricultural development as the great high-road to lasting prosperity, and they

are pledged to support it in every way. As soon as we have learned the productive capabilities of the different parts of the Union, and have secured fixed markets for our produce, not only will the introduction of settlers with small means have become possible, but they will come with even little or no persuasion on our part.

Consider, next, the differing attitudes of the parties on the question of naval contribution. The Unionists, not unnaturally, take the view that if the thing is right it ought to be done, no matter what the consequences; they ignore the opposition of the backward section of the Dutch; they are quite prepared to face the necessary taxation; and they do not admit that what we are doing in the way of establishing National Defence and the defence of our ports is any excuse for delay in the matter. Ministers and the forward section of the South African Party are fully alive to the obligation which rests on us to increase materially our contribution to the Imperial Navy, and they are quite ready to do it so soon as it can be done with the assent of the bulk of the people and with the certainty that any taxation it necessitates will be cheerfully met. The question, moreover, involves weighty considerations of policy as between the Imperial and Dominion Governments which have yet to be settled.

Another matter which emphasises the difference between the parties is the interpretation to be placed on Section 137 of the South Africa Act. Both parties are agreed that the fundamental principle of equality should be maintained. But while the Unionists, responding to pressure by the ultra-English section, are prone to minimise or burke the condition that the two languages are to be treated on an equal footing, the South African Party insists upon the condition being given the fullest effect to.

Their attitude towards the education question is that if the two languages are to be treated as the official languages of the country, it is not only highly desirable, but wise and proper, that the children of South African should become acquainted with both languages; and that the sooner they do so the sooner they will come to understand each other, and be in a position to work together for the future good of South Africa. And, so far as the Civil Service is concerned, they regard it as absolutely necessary that the servants of a bi-lingual country should know both languages. It is only prejudice that blinds the ultra-English section to the logical justice of this statement, and to the serious disadvantages under which their children will labour if they are not given the fullest opportunity of becoming thoroughly efficient in both languages.

Lack of space forbids my saying more; but I have said quite enough to show that, whatever the question at issue may be, the policy of the South African Party is to go slowly and surely, so that all may move forward together, and that every important measure will have the support of the great bulk of the people. The present Government has not been slow to acknowledge the assistance they have, thus far, received from the Opposition, and I venture to believe that they will continue to receive the support and co-operation of the Opposition in all measures which are fundamentally good for the country, without unnecessarily magnifying faults, to which all Governments are liable, or carping at small differences which are of no material importance.

POLICY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY.

(By F. H. P. CRESWELL, M.L.A.)

As a convenient peg on which to hang a short article on Labour Party policy, the question of immigration commends itself to me, both because it is an important question in itself and because its discussion will serve to bring out the Labour Party point of view on other questions of immediate and pressing interest. It is often stated that the Labour Party is opposed to immigration. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The danger that threatens the whole future of the white race in South Africa—the danger of being swamped by the uncivilised and semi-civilised mass of the kafir population—is brought home very closely to the majority of men in the Labour Party in their daily working lives. We realise very clearly that, unless the strength of the white population is steadily increased at a rate which can only be brought about by a steady flow of immigration, there is immense danger of our white civilisation in Africa going downhill. With our present strength, it seems to us that it will tax our powers to the utmost to combat these downward tendencies, let alone any question of substantial progress towards the realisation of higher ideals of government. It is, in our opinion, an urgent necessity that immigrants should be coming in to help fill up betimes the huge waste spaces of South Africa with men of our blood and traditions.

But we want an immigration of free men, and we claim that of all the parties in the State the Labour Party is the only one that tackles the problem from the right end. We have the Unionists advocating the buying up of land and settling thereon what some of them call the "right kind of immigrant," the right kind of immigrant being one gathering a pension with a certain amount of capital. This, with assisted passages, is their royal road to setting up a stream of immigration. Ministers talk in a pious way about the need to encourage immigration, and the duty that is on them to provide, first, for those who are already here. Neither of these two parties appear to discern, in the absence of any constant stream of immigration, anything more than a trouble which can be cured by administrative action, without any radical change in domestic policy or the principles upon which we have been managing our national affairs.

To us the absence of such immigration into so thinly-populated a country as South Africa, and one with such immense natural attractions, is not only an evil in itself, it is also another and a painful symptom of the malady from which the whole country is suffering—the very wrong principle upon which our affairs have been and are being administered. In our view, the cause of there being no immigration is just the same cause as that which is tending to drive the white population already here off the land, and sending them to earn a living at 3s. 4d. a day on the railways; the same cause that enables our industries to be carried on under conditions which give less and less opportunities of employment to the white population, and make them more and more dependent on cheap kafir labour. That cause is the too great attention paid to the demands of property and the too little attention which is paid to the human needs of the people themselves who are not great property owners. The Ministerial talk of immigration when every man already in the country has been provided for may be dismissed, as it is only a polite way of putting off serious consideration of the question to the Greek Kalends. Our present institutions are in themselves producing men "to be provided for" more rapidly than any Government land settlement measures are likely to provide for. The Unionists, with their "right kind of immigrants," seem to us to be talking foolishness. On their plan, by great efforts a few thousand immigrants may be imported, and at much cost settled on the land; but no regular flow will be established, and each successive batch will be more costly. Besides, as our country is at present governed, we may be certain that many of these importations will share the fate of South African-born men, and be driven into the already limited and overstocked industrial field, there to add to the number of unemployed; and anyhow no country was ever populated by a stream of immigration by men with a certain amount of capital. What South Africa wants is the immigration of men whose capital is their capacity to work and their determination to work to good purpose for themselves and the country of their adoption. If we want to set up a flow of such immigration, we must not talk of assisted passages and of advertising the attractions of the country in Europe until we are very certain how such advertisement, if truthful, would read.

Let us for a moment sketch a short summary of a truthful advertising pamphlet—a rare quality, I grant, in such a document. If the intending emigrant from the other side were thinking of getting a living off the land, he would be told that South Africa has a magnificent climate, and that there are millions of acres of fertile land lying idle for want of people to till them. So far good. But then our truthful advertiser would have to tell him that these millions of acres are held in large tracts by private persons and land companies, who, having to pay no taxes on the value of the land they hold, are under no great stress to sell or to find tenants; that in the neighbourhood of the big centres of population, the markets for his produce, this system, and the speculative holding up of land encouraged by it, results in land prices being so high that the natural flow to the land of the population already there is hindered, and so obstructed as almost to be at a standstill; that many of these land-owners prefer having what little cultivation they permit done on the "kafir farming" system; that on this system the proportion of produce left to the tenant is so low that a civilised white man cannot live on it; that if he manages to get a decently large piece of land on lease, such lease will probably be a very short one, giving his landlord an early opportunity to quickly raise his rent if his farming is successful; and, finally, that there are thousands of men born in South Africa and raised on the land who, as the result of the present state of things, have been driven off the land, and have to accept starvation wages in the railways and in the towns.

He would, of course, be told that far away from markets and civilisation land

is procurable at a cheaper rate, if he has capital enough to buy and stock a large farm. But here again he ought to be told that he will probably have to deal with the untaxed speculative land company, who will, before he starts, take most of the cream off a good many years of his work; and unless he is a man with capital, the back veldt is no place for him.

One imagines that having learnt all this from our truthful advertisers the would-be immigrant will turn his steps to some other country.

If again our intending immigrant is a man who looks for a living to working for wages in industrial life, he would read that South Africa has great mineral wealth, and the natural materials for a great industrial development. He would learn that we have the greatest gold and diamond mines in the world, copper, tin, and coal in abundance. But he must also be told that we are not content with, as in other countries, leaving all these great sources of wealth in private hands, to be developed or not as the intelligence, enterprise, or whim of such private owners may determine. Here the capitalist system is carried a good many steps further, and every possible assistance is given to these fortunate owner-employers to exploit these natural resources with the least possible benefit to their white fellow citizens. He must be told that when these employers want men to work for them they are not left, as is the case with employers elsewhere, to offer wages which will attract free men to come to work for them as free men. Here, by special laws passed in their interest, they are able to recruit large numbers of uncivilised blacks in the native territories, who are paid wages upon which no man with civilised wants can live, and who, under these special laws, are, during the term of their contract, placed in a quasi-servile position towards their masters. He must be told that this assistance to employers is carried so far that when the supply of natives in the country willing, for a consideration, to become temporary slaves runs short, the Government helps the employers to get natives from outside our borders. He must further be told that, as a result of this system, the field of employment for white men, even in skilled work, is every year becoming more restricted, while, if a white man is unfortunate enough not to find employment in his own trade, he will find that the market for unskilled labour is practically monopolised by the uncivilised native, and it is almost impossible for him to fall back on his bone and muscle and earn any living by doing rough work, as he might do in Australia or Canada. And he must finally be told that, in spite of our immense natural resources, in spite of our absurdly small white population, in spite of the eternal cry of shortage of labour, in every big industrial centre in this land white men, anxious and willing to work, are to be found in numbers quite unable to get any work to do. One imagines our immigrant will make up his mind to turn his face away from South Africa towards some more hopeful land.

We in the Labour Party hold that what is required in this country to bring about a stream of healthy immigration is the same thing that is required to bring about an abatement of the other symptoms of national ill-being from which we suffer, and that is a thorough revision of the principles upon which we are conducting our Government.

To-day the governing theory seems to be that if you protect in every possible way the "interests"—the powers that own and control the sources of production—these in pursuit of their own profit will somehow and sometime develop those resources, and that somehow or other the people at large will benefit in the fullest way attainable.

We utterly discard this theory. We say that everything we see in the older countries disproves it. We say that the tendency under government conducted on such principles is to restrict the energies of the most of the people, and not only to inflict great material hardships on very large numbers, but gradually to undermine all real freedom and individual liberty.

We want it clearly recognised in all public questions that private interests are altogether subordinate to, and limited by, public interests, and this not nominally, but really. Where private rights of ownership stand in the way of public benefit, those private rights must be modified until they no longer obstruct progress. To-day, in South Africa, it is in the main the unfettered private rights of the owners of the land and mineral resources, accentuated by our suicidal black labour policy, which at once stand in the way of our own advancement, and blocks any possibility of healthy immigration.

The two cardinal measures advocated by the Labour Party, which are not only essential to the well-being and healthy development of the existing population, but are indispensable if any flow of immigration of free men is to be established, are

the taxation of the unimproved or sale value of all land within the Union. and the abolition of the importation of indentured natives from outside the Union; the latter to be followed by the abolition of the indentured labour system altogether.

The first measure, besides being an unimpeachably just way of raising public revenue, is the surest and quickest way of clearing away the greatest obstruction—the speculative and dog-in-the-manger landowner—to the flow of the population, whether native-born or immigrants, on to the land.

It will do more than a hundred land settlement Acts to prevent land which might be used with profit to us all remaining locked up.

The second will unlock to the white people. native-born as well as immigrant, the field of industrial employment, as the first will unlock the land. Let it be clearly understood that the Labour Party is not advocating the abolition of one kind of cheap contract labour merely to permit the importation of another kind, even European. We want immigrants, but they must come here as free men—free to join with those here in every measure for the advancement of their every interest.

This. we contend, is the only true and sound immigration policy.

Do not look abroad, but look at home for the reason that immigration is nearly at a standstill. Take the obvious first measures to remove those things which are fettering our own progress. Cater in your public policy not for the protection of the wealthy and powerful few, but for the not wealthy but hard working many, and you will make the people who are here now prosperous. And their prosperity will be a better advertisement than any number of pamphlets issued by the Agent-General in England. When we have done these things it will be time enough to take other and more direct measures to stimulate immigration. Until we have taken the first steps in the carrying out of a sane domestic policy it is idle to expect people to flock to South Africa.

THE CREED OF SOCIALISM.

By the REV. MORRIS O. HODSON, M.A. (Oxon.), Vicar of St. Cyprian's Parish Church, Durban.

Long ago Aristotle said that the State is a natural institution, that man is naturally a social animal, and that one who is not a citizen of any State is either a superhuman being or low in the scale of civilisation, as he stands alone like a blot on the backgammon board. The science of politics is nothing more than the gradual development of the relations between man and his fellow-men. It is a science that begins with the family, is continued in the tribe, grows with the birth of nations, and is, perhaps, destined to find its ultimate triumph in a great world State in which all men will be brothers. Many institutions have been born and flourished as the result of its activity—the Areopagus of the Greeks, the Senate of the Romans, the Parliaments of modern nations, the Municipalities of our great cities. All these have based their activities and their usefulness upon the fact that man is a social animal, whose duties and responsibilities must be regulated and undertaken with due regard to the welfare of the community.

In the last two hundred years questions of politics and government have been more and more interwoven with industrial organisation. What is known as the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the power of capital have made enormous changes in the relations between men and their fellows. In the old days a man lived on the soil and the land supported him. But a growing apprehension of the power of wealth and the increase of the opportunities for amassing riches led those who had the land in their hands to use it, not as a means for the support of life, but as a means for money-making. Then came the factory system, and the workman becomes merely a part of the huge machine for production. The end of his labour is held to be not his own support, but the profits of his master, for if he cannot help his master to make profits he ceases to be of any value. His master might be reluctant to dismiss him, but no method has yet been found whereby private businesses can continue to be run at a loss. With the development of joint stock enterprises, things went from bad to worse. Formerly, the manager of the business was the owner, nowadays he is simply a servant, like any of those whom he manages, and his first and

main duty is to find dividends for the shareholders. If he cannot do so, there is grumbling, and even the manager may find himself on the scrap heap of the labour market.

During all this time the State held itself powerless to interfere. These things were outside the realms of government. It recognised that things were not as they might be, but said it could do nothing. Men with a reputation for humanity and the Christian graces said that business would be ruined unless women continued to work in coal mines and children to labour in the fields. The ethical principles of the Sermon on the Mount were quietly laid aside as impossible of fulfilment. This was the famous doctrine of laissez faire, an individualism of a mechanical kind which put property above people and money above men. That was sixty years ago. The rule of life was competition. Laterly, however, a somewhat better state of things has prevailed. Factory Acts have been passed, hours of labour shortened, the workman protected in some measure, and child labour abolished. But the rule of life is still competition. Men still compete with each other for the opportunity of earning their daily bread, the employer still uses the excess of labour over the demand for its services as a means of reducing its price, manufacturers adulterate their goods to enable them to compete with their rivals, and when all is said and done the reward—the only reward the competitive system can hold out—is money, and again money, and yet again money.

Now, it is obvious that this cannot be the end of the matter. The amassing of riches is, after all, a poor and unsatisfying end of life, and it is quite clear that such an end is entirely unworthy of a being who thinks and wills and loves, and of a race which has produced an Aeschylus and a Socrates, a Beethoven and a Francis of Assisi. The process of evolution is still going on, it has not stopped. We are beginning to understand once more that every man is an end in himself, and that the function of man is to live. Since each man is an end in himself, all this exploiting of his energies which turns him into a wage-slave is clearly unnatural, and therefore immoral; since man is an end in himself, all this trampling of men upon each other's heads in their struggle for success lowers man to the level of the brute. The doctrine of the survival of the physically most fit is all very well for trees and plants, wolves and sharks, but is an anachronism as applied to a spiritual being such as man. The evolution of the science of politics demands that with the communal activity there shall be individual right, and with the social organisation there shall be individual freedom. Our present conditions stifle freedom and imprison right. The community is active enough in one sense, but false theories about values in life restrain its actions and strangle its voice.

All this the Socialist recognises quite clearly. He sees that the system can never be made satisfactory, and can never work well. The engine has never run smoothly, there has been constant friction and a breakdown almost daily. He sees that the only thing to do is to make an end of this disastrous system of competition and to let the principle of co-operation be the guiding principle of life and work out its own salvation. And what he sees clearly and is working for is steadily coming to pass by the evolution of the sciences of politics and sociology. He knows that the principles for which he contends are progressive principles that must come into actual practice sooner or later, and that it is easier to curb the rising tide than to restrain the movement of life towards Socialism. The individualist sits in his chair by the sea and proudly orders the waves to retreat, but they wash his feet nevertheless, whereupon he removes his chair a little farther way, repeats the same process da capo, and again gets wet. A moment's thought shows that this contention is true. There has been much tinkering with the system of industrial competition, and every little repair made is in the direction of alleviating the pressure of that competition by the principle of co-operation or mutual aid. The very existence of hospitals, national insurance, primary education, benevolent societies, to say nothing of State railways and municipal supplies of water, light, locomotion, and power shows that the principle of co-operation and mutual aid is gradually gathering more and more of human activities under its sway. No one wants the tram system of Durban to be in private hands, or Addington Hospital to be burnt. The community is beginning to understand that it can do many things far better by public services than by private enterprise.

Thus Socialism, instead of being a cast-iron system imposed upon society by a few daring spirits from without, is in reality the natural product of political evolution, which moves steadily forward towards its appointed goal. That is the only way Socialism can come. Experience

has shown that sudden changes, changes wrought, for instance, by force of arms, have no abiding place in the world's social economy. The French Revolution is a case in point. Wars of political liberation may still be necessary, but Socialism can never come by the sword. The changes which Socialism contemplates are changes which will affect every department of life, and mean nothing less than a new social order. The present economic organisation allows and even blesses corners in wheat and the enormities of the company promoter, and doles out millions to the favoured few and poverty to the millions. A lecturer on municipal finance at a recent ratepayers' meeting said, "We must have some slums in Durban." Exactly so. That is what modern economic organisation leads to. To destroy this organisation is the aim of Socialism. But to destroy you must replace. And the process of replacement is found not in sudden revolution, but in steady political evolution. Socialism never gives up any ground that it has won. It is intensely practical. Its young men see visions and its old men dream dreams, but the visions have a way of crystallising themselves into fact, and the dreams are coming true every day. Men are beginning to realise the waste, the cruelty, the absurdity of competition, and to understand that far more will be done for the human race by the principle of co-operation. Fear may do something, but love will do more.

The most favourable field for the growth and exemplification of Socialistic principles is the sphere of municipal government. It is the municipalities that are teaching men the advantages of Socialism. Municipal water and municipal light are now being rapidly followed by municipal houses, and even in some places by municipal milk. It is not a very far cry from these to municipal bread and beef and municipal clothing. The rating of site values is another step in the right direction, the feeding and medical inspection of school children carries the movement a little further. Municipalities can easily be, and certainly ought to be, model employers. If they are not, the people can soon put matters right. In fact, bearing all this in mind, it is no exaggeration to say that a man can hardly have a finer opportunity of serving his generation than by undertaking and faithfully fulfilling his duties as a member of a municipal body. A Councillor is nearer the souls and bodies of his fellow-men than a member of Parliament.

The Socialist's view of life thus entails a belief in brotherhood. It treats man as a spiritual being, as an end in himself. The exploiter treats men as so much grist to the financial mill. To the Socialist, painting, music, architecture, literature, and the drama are part of the normal life of man. They are amongst his birthright possessions. To the mechanical Individualist they are merely by-products depending for their existence upon the caprice and generosity of the wealthy, and are included among the superfluities, rather than the necessities, of life. Hence, the almost universal reign of ugliness.

The same is true in the moral sphere. Ethics tend to fall into the background, and religion becomes a thin veil of respectability. Hence many Christian teachers welcome Socialism as promising the nearest approach to Christian social order that the world has yet seen. Its principles of co-operation and brotherhood find a ready response in the hearts of those whose Master bid them love God with all their hearts and their neighbour as themselves. Its unrelenting antagonism to the exclusive claim of monetary values is very close to the words of One who said, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

The movement of Christianity towards Socialism is one of the most remarkable features of religious life to-day, and is giving it a spiritual impetus and motive which is bound to prove a source of great strength. It was a member of the House of Commons, a member of the English Labour Party, who, not long ago, made use of these words, "I will speak for myself, which is the best thing to do, and, so far as I am concerned, I am certain I would not be in the Labour movement if it were not that I had behind me this sort of inspiration, that I believe I am in this world as one of the children of God, and that all other men and women are in like manner with me, and that I cannot live for myself and that I must die to myself, and that my business in life, so far as one humbly and reverently can say it, is to do my piece of work so that when I die and am gone this world is just a shade better because I have been here."

A PLEA FOR THE APPLICATION OF SCIENTIFIC METHODS

To the Question of Race Relations in South Africa.

By MAURICE S. EVANS, author of "Black and White in South-East Africa."

The great question which is usually termed the Native Question is really one of race relationships, for, under present conditions in South Africa, it is difficult to imagine any important change in the circumstances or environment of either the European or native races that will not involve an impact on the position of the other. Anyone who has given thought to the present condition and possible future of the Bantu in South Africa must have discovered that in considering land or labour, missions or education, or the social and political position of the native, any change in the status quo comprehends also the interests and standing of the European population. I think, therefore, for the current term Native Question I would substitute Race Relations.

In the early years of the presence of Europeans in those parts of South Africa in which the native population is densest the problem was not insistent. After war had fully established the white man as the stronger race, the native accepted the position. Land was plentiful and cheap, the locations set apart for his exclusive use were ample, and he could live the life his fathers lived as a pastoralist, supplemented by simple agricultural operations, without undue toil. This tribal system still remained, native law and custom were not interfered with unless repugnant to European ideas of humanity, and the loss of life occasioned by inter-tribal war and the practice of witchcraft had ceased.

Protected by the European in peaceful occupation of his land, living in a manner congenial to him, not called upon to labour except at short intervals by the white man, the position was a happy one for the native, and he remained law-abiding, docile, and contented for many years. But the march of civilisation was going on, the European landowner began to import good stock, to grow new crops, to require the land on which the native lived. So it came that on farms occupied by Europeans the portion allotted to the native became smaller, and often he was restricted to the less fertile portions, while at the same time his numbers were rapidly increasing. A similar movement was taking place on the so-called unoccupied farms and in the locations. On the former the increasing numbers of natives had to pay higher and higher rents; in the latter the native population became, according to their ideas, congested. To supply his increasing wants the native had to turn out to work. At first this work was found near his home under familiar conditions, and the effect on his mind and character, though appreciable, was not profound. During this early period a certain number were receiving a measure of education under the missionaries, and getting gradually a new outlook on life. One important effect of these new activities was to disintegrate gradually the old customs, beliefs, and controls. Respect for constituted authority is deeply engrained in the native mind, and devotion to the chief and obedience to the family head still remained strong, but the attentive ear could notice ominous creaking in the structure of the social system of the Bantu people.

Then came the most important economic event in the history of South Africa, the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, which transformed South Africa from a purely pastoral country in which life went slowly and easily to a potent element in the industrial and comemrcial world, with all the complexities and strife so characteristic of modern civilised life. The native became, almost at once, the most important human factor in this gigantic industrial development. The effect on native life and character can hardly be over-estimated. Touts were sent over the length and breadth of the land; they penetrated the remotest districts where the native was living in his old-time simplicity: they offered bribes and held out inducements that succeeded in bringing hundreds of thousands to the centre where they got experiences of the most novel and bewildering kind. They met natives of different tribes from all over South and Central Africa. Angoni met Zulu, Basuto worked with Damara, the partly-educated Fingo foregathered with the Shangaan. Their experience of the white man hitherto had been limited to the isolated trader or farmer living a reputable life with his family in their home neighbourhood. Now they learned there were other kinds of white men who were trying to exploit, too often to cheat, them, who for the sake of money would break the white man's law and sell them the white man's liquor, and introduce them to nameless vicious pleasures. And what they learned was carried away to their homes, and induced others to go and gain the same experience and indulge

in the same pleasures, until it is not too much to say that the influence of Johannesburg has reached the most remote kraals in the sub-Continent. I do not mean to say that the effect was all for evil. The native received a training in work, he learned to be punctual, often orderly and cleanly, and became in many cases a more valuable labourer. But two effects it certainly had—to weaken the old salutary customs and the restraints that had hitherto made him a respector of law and authority, and to teach him the vices of the white man's civilisation. I think most South Africans will agree that the evil he learned far outweighed the good.

I do not think any primitive people at any stage in the history of the world have ever been subjected to such a sudden and complete change in their outlook and environment, such an upsetting of their lives, as has befallen the Bantu people of South Africa by the discovery of these gold fields, and it is a constant marvel to me that they have come out of this trial with as little disturbance as is visible at the present time.

All this is an education, but along with it education in the conventional sense is going on with increasing rapidity. Our respect for, and belief in, education often makes us blind to some of its results. There is no factor in life which is so important in the development of character, but none which is so potent as an agency making for divine or quite other than divine discontent. And this is especially the case when the education given has been partial and ill-balanced and has not resulted in developing the reasoning faculties and judgment, or does not fit in with the life likely to be led by the recipient. I am a strong advocate for the wise education of the native population, under conditions which I have dealt with at length elsewhere, but I am not blind to the fact that much of the education now being given to the Bantu in South Africa is tending, along with other forces, to make for dissatisfaction and unrest. It was, and is, inevitable. Yet we must remember that if every school and mission station in South Africa were closed to-morrow, the native would still get education, his appetite is whetted, and he will obtain it in some way, and also (and this is of the first importance) that in Johannesburg and district in particular, and in every other industrial centre, he is receiving an education of the worst kind which will inevitably lead to demoralisation and the loosening of all restraints.

Contemporaneously with this profound change in the character, outlook, and aspirations of the Bantu has come a change in the white population. Speaking generally, in the early days, the white settlers, Dutch-speaking and English-speaking alike, knew the native, and the relations between black and white were clearly defined, and were well understood and accepted by both. In these days we have had a considerable influx from oversea to whom this knowledge is impossible, and yet who are brought into daily touch with the Bantu. The best of them mean well by him, and, though their attitude is often unwise, leading often to undue familiarity, and sometimes to strained relations, it is not intolerable. But beyond any words of condemnation I can use are the actions of those who, for gain, batten on the worst passions of the native. I venture to predict the forthcoming report of the Assaults on Women Commission will reveal some phases of this side of the question which will startle those who do not know. With the coming of industrialism and more advanced agriculture, the poor and thriftless whites, who led a precarious, but comparatively healthy, life as transport riders, hunters in the low veld, or stock farmers, have been driven into the slums of the big towns, and live a life that in some aspects is lower than that of the native. And, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, one of the main causes for the existence of this debased class is the presence of the black man, who is looked upon by them as the only one who should do the manual work of the country. I am not surprised that any Government really desiring the best interest of the State should place the solution of this problem of the poor white on the first page of their programme.

Many publicists have laid emphatic stress on the desirability of very much increased European immigration. I have my ideas on this question strengthened by what I have seen in the United States of America, and, briefly, I may say that, in my opinion, any attempt to emulate Canada and Australia, which is, I understand, the objective, will fail. And it will fail because the man who will settle the question is not white, but black. If you think of it, you will find that it is the despised, inarticulate native who decides the question of immigration. Still, whether the ideas of some are attempted or not, a certain amount of immigration will come to our shores. And what does this mean for our inquiry? Simply an increased demand for native labour, and a further complication of the question. Let us remem-

ber the difference between our position and that of the other great self-governing Colonies. The vast majority of those who go to Australasia and Canada to make new homes make them by the actual manual labour of their own hands, and by that personal labour add to the wealth of the State, and develop, and do not draw upon its resources. Can the same be said of the immigrant into South Africa? Is it not a fact that, if the same families came here animated by the same ideals before leaving the Old Country, they would, within a fortnight, be demanding native labour, not only to till the soil, but to act as personal servants, kitchen boy, stable boy, and the like! Thus the position is not likely to be altered for good by immigration.

There is in South Africa a danger connected with racial matters always hanging over us in what is called the "black peril." Although often dangerously near, there has, up till now, been no actual case of lynching as it is known in the United States. Reverently I say, thank God for that, for only those who have visited the United States of America know its full horrors. But at any time a case may occur of such a nature as to exasperate the white man beyond endurance, and he may take the law into his own hands. The recent case in Johannesburg, in which a frantic mob nearly did an innocent raw native to death, recalls so vividly the position in the Southern States that it made me shudder with dread for what might happen to make race antagonism so bitter that all sense of proportion and fairplay, judgment and reason, might be eclipsed.

I have thus contrasted the past with the present and tried to give in broad outlines the difficulties and complexities of the situation, not because all the facts I have stated are not known and familiar, but because we are so apt to take a partial view of the situation, and not to grasp the full position. Only by doing so can we understand the colossal nature of the task that lies before the people of South Africa. Now, to complete the picture I should call attention to the fact that, under Union, in the same country, under the same Government, we have the position made still more complex by the fact that the treatment of the native varies in each of the four Provinces; that in the Cape Colony he may become a full citizen and voter on the same terms as the white man, while in the Transvaal and Free State he is specifically denied equality either in Church or State.

Was ever a people faced with such a task as the adjustment of the relations of two races so different in race history, civilisation, and ideals?

What is to be done to reduce this chaos to something like order, to co-ordinate all the information we have, in short to frame a policy for the future which shall be fair to both races and give each an opportunity of race development to the extent of its capacity, and at the same time prevent or minimise the danger of race conflict?

Many answers will be given to this question, varying with the temperament, experience, and perhaps prejudices of the individual, but I will concentrate what I have to say in trying to answer it on one suggestion, which I think of fundamental importance. We want to get away from loose thinking and talking, from vague generalities, and partial and interested opinions, and apply to the problem the scientific method. We want some machinery which will sort and classify the immense mass of scattered data we have at present, and from it formulate a policy which shall be a standard by which to measure questions of race relationship as they arise. We have no such machinery at present. We have at the head of the Native Department a movable Minister dependent for his position on the votes of his constituents. If one thing is necessary for the good government of a backward people, it is continuity of policy and of the persons who stand to them as rulers, yet already in the short history of Union we have had two Ministers for Native Affairs. Under the Minister we have the permanent officials of the Department, at the head of whom is the Secretary for Native Affairs. Can we hope to get from them the scientific inquiry and thought necessary? With every respect for the zeal and devotion of the members of the Service, I think that, even if they were capable, the daily round of official duties would make it impossible. Then over the length and breadth of the land are spread magistrates, who, in the course of their duty, come into contact with the natives. Many of them are excellent servants of the State, and take an interest in their work, but their outlook is limited to their districts, and though within such narrow limits their experience may be great, and their annual reports on those districts of value, they cannot, from the nature of the case, do more towards the framing of a general policy than give facts to others who have better opportunities of taking a wider view and co-ordinating information from widely separate sources.

Who, then, can undertake this work, which is of such essential importance, if

we are to be guided by light and knowledge instead of groping in the dark and muddling from danger into danger? Certainly not the man in the street and the field, he is too busy with his own affairs; not Parliament, who are forced by the nature of things to attend to the interests of their constituents; not a movable Minister, who cannot devote himself to scientific study; not the Department, who are fully occupied in keeping the papers from accumulating to too great a depth on their desks.

Who, then? I have thought of all kinds of plans, but always came back to one, and that is: That under Statute Law a small body of competent men should be appointed who would form a permanent, non-political Council, who should be charged with the duty of making the study of race relations their work. Their first duty should be to formulate a policy which would allow as far as possible an outlook and possibility of peaceful development for both races. They should report from time to time for the information of the electors, and should advise the Government. While recognising that Parliament is paramount, I would require that the expert knowledge and the result of the investigations of such a Council should be available to Parliament, and therefore would suggest that a report from them be attached to all Bills affecting the native population for the information of Parliament. They would not have administrative duties of any kind, nor could they in any way interfere with administration, but would supply what is the first essential to wisé legislation and administration, and that is: considered, wise, sane judgment on all the facts of the case.

More and more we are beginning to recognise that the scientific method is the only one by which we can get at the truth. I do not claim that sociology is an exact science—the human factor makes it impossible; but the same methods which have resulted in increased knowledge and power in the physical world will be much more likely to achieve sane and proportioned results than utter disregard of the facts and warnings which are evident around us, or hurried and ill-considered action the result of panic when danger seems to threaten.

I think it would be an indication of wise political insight if the electors of South Africa, whilst recognising that the grave responsibility of final decision rested with them, would ask the help of others who could give their whole time to this study, and who would be qualified by ability and experience to do what is impossible for the body of electors.

THE NATIVE PROBLEM SIMPLY SOLVED.

(By the Rev. A. T. BRYANT, author of "A Zulu-English Dictionary," &c.)

First a few self-evident facts. The whites are here, and here to stay. And the blacks are here, and here to stay. What is to be the relationship existent between these two races in days to come? That is the native problem we are here to solve. We have the duty of making due provision for the future welfare of both races, for our successors, black and white, in this Colony will inherit from us nothing more or less than the legacy we bequeath to them. Or is it to be held wiser to die, like our predecessors, intestate, and leave our estate in a condition of chaos, and the interested parties to fight over the spoils? How, then, shall we arrange our family matters in such a way that each and every rightful claimant on the estate may come by his fair share of the good things of this, his native or adopted land?

Let us take, first, what is just now uppermost in our minds—absolute segregation of the blacks. First of all, owing to the different character, customs, and inborn national prejudices of the divers Bantu groups now inhabiting South Africa; to the different political treatment they have severally been accustomed to receive in the past, and their intense aversion to sudden change: to the different circumstances generally existent in each separate Colony, the writer is convinced that a single native policy common at once to all the South African States, and taking into no account the peculiar local conditions and requirements, would not be the best for the general good; that the simplest and most satisfactory course would be to leave the management of each separate national group of Bantu people in the hands of those who know them best—to wit, in the hands of the Provincial Parliaments. To tumble together wholesale, on a single spot, a vast number of native tribes, each one by nature and tradition hostile and repugnant to the other, and then succeed in maintaining among them peace and order—not to mention the task of civilising and Christianising them—were to work a miracle. It does not generally display one's prudence and tact to pack cats and dogs together in one cage. Why, the whole of the taxes—if, indeed, any could be safely collected—would be required to support an army of police to run after faction-

fighters, "abatakati," and other criminals, and an army of magistrates to try them, as well as another army to take care of them when tried. And even then the fun would continue as merrily as ever, for the policemen would be merely a necessary party in the play. On this account the wisdom of the policy of wholesale and indiscriminate segregation (or rather congregation) is not apparent. The policy best suited to the native character is one which keeps the races, and even tribes, apart.

Further, we may take it as a postulate of our proposition that the most of the present demoralisation of the natives is due to contact with an inferior class of whites. Absolute separation of the races would, therefore, be of supreme benefit to the natives by preventing in future all contamination of this kind. Likewise we may take it as a postulate that, whatever of improvement, social, economical, mental, and moral, the native has so far gained has been got from his contact with a higher class of whites. Absolute separation of the races, therefore, seeing that in themselves they do not possess the power and means of rising, would mean to the natives an irreparable loss, by depriving them of this blessing to themselves now and their children in the future. So far, then, we are in the position of having six of the one pitted against half-a-dozen of the other, and fail to see exactly what the natives would gain by the process.

Let us try again. To segregate anything, even pigs, we must have land. But since all the land in this or any other South African Colony is already in possession either of the natives or of the whites, it follows that segregation, if it means any alteration at all of the present racial distribution, must mean either a taking away from the natives to give to the whites, or a taking away from the whites to give to the natives, which, again, looks very like merely replacing one bad shuffle of the cards by another, and doesn't show us exactly what the whites are to win by the move. Once more, then, absolute segregation leaves us just as far from any betterment of the position as we were before we started.

Another try. The whites would rid themselves of the natives' presence as a useless factor in the State; and yet, at the same time, would wish their homes and industries to advance in comfort and prosperity. But, inasmuch as there are no white servants in the land to do the work, this looks very like eating one's cake and having it, which is absurd. Or, at any rate, it doesn't prove very clearly how the Colony as a whole would benefit by the transaction.

But if absolute segregation lands us thus at every turn on the horns of such a dilemma, absolute segregation is a chimera, a delusion; and we should be acting more wisely if we gave up the idea and sought our solution in one or other of the courses still left to our option, namely, an indiscriminate commingling of the races, or, alternatively, partial segregation.

The first course is unthinkable at the present time, and quite beyond the pale of practical politics.

The second, therefore, is all that is left us. And that is precisely what we already have!

Whence, then, all the fuss? Why confuse the issue and complicate our task by assuming that new fads are necessary, when the foundations of the simplest and most feasible native policy possible are already there, well and truly laid, and our present task is nothing more or less than to build up upon them a complete and perfect structure? We need do no more than take things just as they now are, and make the best of them—take the locations as they stand, and transform them into settlements of civilisation and Christianity; take the chiefs and turn them into capable and trustworthy Government officials; take the whole native people of Natal and teach and train them to become useful, happy, and prosperous citizens; removing what is oppressive or unjust in our present treatment of them, improving what is imperfect, supplying what is deficient—that is the native policy for this our Colony of Natal, at once the least disturbing, the most contenting, and productive of the best results all round. Looked at in this way, all insurmountable difficulties vanish, and the solution of the so-called native problem becomes as plain and as easy as A.B.C. Indeed, one almost comes to ask whether any "native" problem exists at all; whether the real and only problem is, and ever has been, not rather a "white" one—how to get the white man and the white Government to raise sufficient energy to "act" and sufficient generosity to "give"; in a word, for just this one occasion only, to lose thought of themselves and their own gain, and to give just one moment's attention to the wants and welfare of their native servants. And how may all this be achieved?

We have now reached the parting of the ways, where divers paths of thought and

method will be encountered; but all ways will lead us home. The following scheme is but one out of many that might be proposed. While it covers practically the whole field of native government and native grievances, it contains nothing very startling or difficult, nor is it itself new, for it was outlined by the present writer fully ten years ago in the columns of the "Natal Witness," and was submitted by him to both the South African and the Natal Commissions on Native Affairs. It provides for the gradual extinction of barbarism among the native masses by increasing facilities for the spread among them of civilisation and Christianity, without seriously inconveniencing any of them. It introduces a system of land tenure which would offer these people a personal interest in the soil, without encroaching on the rights or preserves of any white man; it furnishes them with a simple form of legislative representation, and a voice in their own government, without introducing any coloured element into our own Parliament; it would encourage home and agricultural industry among the natives, and open up varied legitimate fields for employment and work to their educated and trained classes; it would transform the chiefs into profitable servants of the Government, and make them leaders and exemplars of light to their own people, instead of being, as they now are, bulwarks of darkness and instruments of oppression; finally, it would make provision for meeting that inevitable problem of the future, when the natives, so increased in numbers, will find no longer living room on the locations, and will be compelled to seek a home elsewhere.

We start with the locations. The Government would be empowered to sell to natives of this Colony, on long leases, and gradually, as demand arose, a certain portion, say not to exceed one-half, of each location in the Colony. The size of the plots, the price per acre, and the subject of commonages, are matters we need not delay over here, but all allotments would be made under certain easy terms of payment and conditions of beneficial occupation. At the present time we have some millions of acres of land lying, from the economic point of view, idle and unproductive. A scheme of judicious sale would provide the Government with funds whereby to initiate and carry on further plans to the natives' benefit, and, moreover, these funds would in this way be procurable without touching one penny of the white man's money. Each location would in time resolve itself into two sections, one comprising the native peasant farms, and the other (not less than one-half of the whole) occupied by all such natives as for the present preferred to continue in their old style of living, these paying, as heretofore, the prescribed hut, head, or wife tax, from which the purchasers of farm plots would become, so long as they were engaged paying off the costs of land-purchase, exempt.

On these locations no white man, save Government officials, would be permitted to reside. Each clump of contiguous locations would have its European Administrator of native law (thus relieving the European district Courts of this work), assisted by a location supervisor and a body of solely native clerks and police. The function of these European officers would not consist solely in administering the law and exercising control, but also in their taking an active interest in the general uplifting of the people under their charge.

The status over their tribes of the hereditary chieftains would be respected and retained, though measures would be taken to make them more useful than they have hitherto been. The title of "chief" would be abolished, and would be replaced by that of "district induna" (as at the present time in Zululand), and they might, or might not, as were subsequently decided, retain the right to try minor law cases.

In order to increase the utility in the future of this class of native dignitary, the Government would establish a school for the training of their sons, and through that school all prospective tribal chiefs hereafter to be born, or now below a certain age, would be required to pass as a condition precedent to their succession. Christianity in this school would not be compulsory, but would be allowed to grow spontaneously out of the good lessons there learned, and the good example there seen. All ministers of religion would be allowed free access to the school for the purpose of giving religious instruction to their adherents.

By arrangement with the location supervisor, any missionary body, recognised by the Government, and so applying, would be permitted to erect in the location a church or chapel to be administered by a native minister under white control, and whose functions of teaching and preaching would be confined to the afore-mentioned building.

On every location would be established a Government undenominational day-school, conducted by a native teacher. To this

school all children under a certain age, resident on the farm reserve, and not required at home, would be compelled to attend, while those resident on the unreserved location might attend at will, with the consent of their parents, which should not be unreasonably withheld.

Under certain conditions and regulations, stores, run solely by natives, might be erected within the locations, and to these stores a licence might be issued for the brewing and sale of native beer, the object of this concession being to gradually break down the harmful custom of public beer drinks by introducing the habit of small purchases for private consumption.

In conjunction with the Administrator's office would be established postal and money-order offices, labour bureaux, and other such public conveniences.

All moneys derived from the payment of taxes, fines, land sales, and the like, would go into a common Government fund for the sole purpose of defraying administrative expenses and otherwise benefiting the native people resident in the locations.

In each Administrator's district would be periodically elected a number of native men, in part chosen by the Administrator and in part by the people themselves, to form a Local Board of Management, under the presidency of the Administrator. These Local Boards would, from among themselves, periodically select two delegates, whereof one at least should be a Christian, to attend as members of the General Advisory Council on Native Affairs, held annually under Government auspices, prior to the sitting of Parliament, in Maritzburg, to which General Advisory Council all proposed native legislation should be first submitted. All hereditary chiefs or indunas would become ex-officio members of their district Local Board, and would be eligible for election as delegates to the central Advisory Council.

Since most of the present locations are already so far occupied as to leave nothing more than a reasonable margin for future natural increase, native residents on European farms should be permitted to continue to reside there, as heretofore. There seems to be no valid reason why a native willing to perform the conditions of tenancy imposed upon him by his landlord should not be permitted to do so; nor any valid reason why any landlord should not be free to use his own property as he likes, and to his best advantage, provided his action be not subversive of law or order. If this right be conceded to native farm-dwellers, then they also would be eligible for membership on the Local Board of their own district. Further, all purely native law cases occurring amongst them would fall under the jurisdiction of their district Administrator; though cases arising between themselves and Europeans, or occurring within European areas, would be referred to the district European Court. The purpose of the appointment of separate location Administrators would be simply to facilitate a better local control, as well as at the same time relieve the magistrates of much native work.

While this scheme were being put into execution in the country districts, all European townships would be required at the same time to establish a native village in their vicinity, or to set apart land for that purpose, should future requirements demand. It may be deemed an absolute certainly that as soon as our native population has so far increased in numbers as to render further residence in the country uncomfortable or impossible, the surplus will gravitate towards the centres of European labour. Without any doubt, before the next half-century has passed, there will not be a town in South Africa but has its "native quarter." And the sooner provision is made for that speedily on-coming event the better. In those native villages, as on the locations, only natives would be permitted to dwell and to trade, under the control of European supervisors and native Local Boards.

In this draft of an improved native policy I have omitted making special provision for the important matter of native education, for the reason that this subject presents no other difficulty than that of obtaining the requisite amount of £ s. d., and, by our scheme of applying native taxes to native needs, £ s. d. would be abundantly forthcoming.

But we cannot so easily pass over the rightful demand of a certain class of civilised natives for treatment commensurate with their education and respectability. The present law of "exemption from native law" should be abolished, and replaced by one of "privileged natives," which, while leaving them under an improved code of native law, would confer upon the select few, able to pass the stiff test (of education, property, and, most of all, character), the privilege of exemption from all "colour" legislation, parliamentary as well as municipal, and bestow upon them even the right of franchise—although at the present time, considering their proportionately insignificant number, the posses-

sion of that right would be of no practical value to them, more profitable scope for their energies being obtainable in the Native Councils. But so soon as their number had increased, say, to 1,000, then power might be given them to send a single European representative to the Union Legislature (Assembly or Senate, as determined), the number of such representatives (not to exceed a certain proportion of the House to which they are attached) increasing according to a fixed scale of increase among the native voters. The unenfranchised native masses would, naturally, still continue in touch with the Government, through the medium of their General Advisory Council, so long, at any rate, as the maximum proportion of legislative representation had not been attained, after which the General Advisory Council would cease to exist, though the Local Boards might still be retained.

A policy of mutual give and takes proves always easiest of achievement, and most enduringly satisfactory. Where, then, will be asked, does the white man come into our scheme? What will be his share of the spoils? They will be mostly of a negative nature, as those of the native have been positive. If the native be given that which is outlined above, he must be willing, also, to allow his European brother-Colonist corresponding concessions. If the white artisans and traders and land speculators are to be excluded from operating within the native territories, it is only logical and fair that kafir tradesmen, storekeepers, and farm-buyers should be excluded from the European reserve. The privilege granted to the native to come out from his location and earn money wherever he will amongst the white folk (who themselves, of course, are denied the corresponding right), would find its compensating gain to the latter in the fact that the native's labour would be wholly and solely to the profit of the European community to whom it were given.

Furthermore, it were but reasonable that, whites being prohibited from living within the locations, natives likewise should be prohibited from residing on the European farms. But here it must be remembered that these native locations are not now, for the first time, being demarcated for the purpose of meeting present-day native requirements. The locations, as we have them to-day in our hands, were allotted on the basis of native needs calculated 50 years ago. Hence they have now, for a large part, practically fulfilled their purpose, and will no longer suffice, for many years to come, to meet the natural increase of their mass of native settlers. Unless, then, we be willing to extend their boundaries by the surrender of certain land (and it will require to be of no inconsiderable extent) already in European possession, we must, perforce, adopt the alternative, and make some kind of arrangement outside of the locations for the prospective overplus of the rapidly increasing native population. This, as I have already hinted, may be best accomplished by simply letting things remain as they are—that is to say, as far as native squatters are concerned; by continuing, as heretofore, to grant the native the freedom and right to settle on European farms wherever he can come to terms with an agreeable landlord; and by granting the landowner freedom and right to use his property as a place for human habitation, not alone for sheep and cows, whenever he be so humanely minded. Indeed, if the farmer be as slim as he is sometimes (in Boerland) supposed to be, he will go out of his way to see that this right be preserved to him (and to the kafir). For if the natives ("quod avertat Deus!") be universally excluded from residence on the farms, then, without a doubt, our friend Mr. Mangel-Wurzel will find himself in a hole, within which hole he will find himself compelled to fall on his knees and cry aloud to the "verdomte kafir" to come back to his aid, sharp. Which humble prayer the "verdomte kafir" (when "he" thinks fit) will graciously grant—at Johannesburg rates. Mr. Mangel-Wurzel will be well advised not to put himself into that hole.

That is my advice to Natal. Let Transvaal & Co. solve their own problem as they will.

SEGREGATION.

By Rev. JOHN DUBE
(President South African Native Congress.)

Mr. Hertzog has startled the native world by proclaiming that he has actually formulated a native policy—a feat that each one of his predecessors for the last three-quarters of a century has found impossible of accomplishment. But unfortunately he has taken care not to tell us what it is. This, at any rate, betokens a certain amount of wisdom. And so does the other move, of first throwing out a feeler, in the shape of the magic word "segregation," which we take to be the main plank in his scheme. Before commit-

ting himself, he naturally wishes to find out which way the wind blows. And precisely therefore he does not even inform us what he really means by the term. Not having informed us, he leaves us to place our own interpretation upon it.

As far as I know, the term "segregation," as at present used in South African polities, implies to the native mind a complete separation of the black population from the white. And as far as I know, this is what they think of the plan—that is to say, those of them who have thought at all: They regard it as both impracticable and unprofitable.

Segregation, as Mr. John Shepstone has lately and quite rightly informed us, was the aboriginal system under which the local native tribes were living prior to the advent of the white man. And it is precisely on that account that we educated natives fail to see any place for it in the present order of things, fail to see that it is in any way suited to the altered conditions of the present time. The system of tribal segregation may have suited very well a period when barbarism and darkness reigned supreme, and nothing was required beyond those doubtful blessings, but it had and has the fatal defect of being essentially opposed to all enlightenment and Christianity, of utterly lacking what nowadays is our supreme requirement—the power and means of raising the native people out of the slough of ignorance, idleness, poverty, superstition—in one word, of utter uselessness as citizens or even servants in a civilised land. The times have changed, and manners must change with them. We are in a civilised land to-day, and unless we are to be a burden and a menace to it, unless we are to be trampled down in the race forward, we must be enabled or enable ourselves to come up to scratch and take our place in the running. Enable ourselves, as I have just said, we cannot. We have absolute necessity of the leading and light of outside assistance. In short, we natives need the white man, and cannot any longer live and thrive without his teaching, his training, his example. We must either be with him, or he with us; and the mustual contact must be of such a degree as to effect the desired result.

Without any doubt, the greater the distance between the white man and the black, the greater the loss to each. True, the contact will involve for us much that is injurious, much that will demoralise, from the unavoidable intercourse with a certain lower element. But the majority of white men we still believe are virtuous and honourable and just; and the good we shall reap by constant contact with these will immeasurably outweigh the contamination wrought in us by the evil element. Their refined and law-respecting home life, their industrious habits, their higher ideals, will even be a powerful and effective object lesson for good in the eyes of my people; they will represent a state we cannot separate ourselves from and yet hope to attain to; a power for good which no policy of complete segregation will ever be able to supply.

Yes, we require the good white man's company badly. And shall I be deemed presumptuous if I say, and he too requires ours? I think not. It will require but little imagination to be able to picture to ourselves the sorry outlook were the merchants, the shippers, the storekeepers, the farmers, to suddenly find themselves deprived of the services, poor as they are in some respects, of their native servants. Who on earth would do the work? Plainly we are as indispensable to the white man as he to us, and I can scarcely believe that there is any thinking white man who has not yet got so far as to know it.

You will observe I have said "would" do the work. For it is not only the point that nobody else would be obtainable, but even though white labourers and white servants were somehow found to supplant our people, which of them would be willing to do the work, as they are, on the mere pittance of £2 a month, the magnificent salary of £24 per annum? And yet the white employer is already complaining that he cannot "make things pay" even at that wretched wage. Where, then, the wisdom of seeking employes who would demand at least £120 per annum? No, gentlemen, own up bravely that you need us, as we declare we need you. Educate us and make us more useful, if you will. Indeed, that is exactly what we have so long been asking for in vain. But pray don't be so obstinate and short-sighted as to cut your own throats. Yet there are those who clamour for separation, who would drive us away from them because we are black. Our blackness is our Creator's gift, and we, for our part, would not have it replaced by any other colour or tint.

You can help us to rise if you will, but you will not. Whereto then, I ask, do you propose to drive us? You cannot drive us any further than the locations and reserves to which you have already driven us, unless perchance you intend to drive us on to land already in the white man's possession. True, were Zululand still open, had you not already carved out for your-

selves all the prime parts there worth having. I for one should be delighted to betake myself into a second Basutoland established there.

But more likely is it you would prefer to drive the native away into some barren, inhospitable wilderness, fever-stricken districts unwanted by yourselves; make him an outcast in his own fatherland, presumably because you find him helpless and powerless to object. I have said "drive" him away, for I think not one of the million natives now resident in the Province would, without a murmur and without demur, be prepared to sever to your call those sacred ties that bind all human beings possessed of a feeling heart to that dear spot they call and know to be their birthplace and their home. Be assured that no single native would be prepared to move, unless compelled by force. But to prostitute your power to so immoral a proceeding would indeed be a sad object-lesson to us, a shameful reflection on a people professing to be guided by the spirit and teachings of Christ.

You have honoured me by asking me what we natives think of "segregation." Although much more might be said to prove my thesis, let this suffice to show you that we thinking natives are convinced that any total separation of the black and white races in South Africa would be ruinous alike to both.

MISSIONS IN NATAL.

(BY LEWIS E. HERTSLET, M.R.C.S., &c.)

Two years before Queen Victoria came to the throne, Capt. Allen Gardiner arrived in Natal with the intention of starting mission work among the natives of this country. The attempt was unsuccessful, but he was soon followed by the pioneers of the American Zulu Mission. Sixty years ago the following societies were at work: American Zulu Mission, Norwegian Mission Society, Berlin Mission Society, Wesleyan Methodist Church, and the Hermannsburg Mission.

In addition to the above, the following Societies and Churches are now at work in the country: United Free Church of Scotland, Church of the Province, Church of Sweden, Roman Catholic Church, Salvation Army, South Africa General Mission, Swedish Zulu Mission, Free Methodist Mission, and a few other smaller societies. The existence of so many bodies complicates the problem, and renders co-operation in effort and correlation of aim essential, if a satisfactory solution is to be obtained.

To a certain extent the Natal Missionary Conference meets this need; this organisation has been in existence for some 25 years, and has done much to improve the situation. The missionary celebrations of 1911 in Durban and Maritzburg, which will be fresh in the memories of many Natalians, were organised by this association of missionaries. Last year an Advisory Committee on Comity and Co-operation was appointed, each Society electing its own representative on the Committee. An excellent and co-operative effort, with great possibilities of usefulness, was initiated this year, in the form of a Mothers' League for native women. The aim of the organisation is to help the Christian women in the conduct of their homes and training of their families. There are already some 400 native members and some 50 associates among the white ladies of Durban and Maritzburg. Missionary ladies representing seven Societies are on the Committee of the League, which is known as Inhlangano Yabondhlayo. 'I.Y.O.'"

In Natal and Zululand there are about 200,000 natives who are professing Christians. In connection with the Protestant Societies attempts have been made to obtain the figures of the Roman Catholic community, but with no success. Some 800,000 still remain heathens. It should be understood that this figure does not imply that they are all adults or Church members, but represents the native Christian community. There are 30,000 children enrolled in the schools, all of which are under the control of the missionaries, though most of the larger ones are subsidised by the Government. A strong feeling is growing among the missionaries that the grant-in-aid must be substantially increased, and that more industrial work must find a place in the syllabus if satisfactory results are to be gained.

It is indicative of the increasing importance of children's work that the following is chosen as the subject for the next Missionary Conference: "The Moral and Religious Training of Native Children and Young People in Home, Church, and School."

Missions in South Africa, and particularly in Natal, have a bad name, and there is a good deal of opposition to the work of missionaries in certain quarters. Public opinion is, however, changing rapidly in this respect, one evidence of which is the fact that a place is found for such an

article as this in the present issue of the "Mercury." The writer is personally convinced that in most cases the opposition is due to ignorance—ignorance of the aims, methods, and results of mission work; in many cases to prejudice, whether of creed, class, or colour; and in some cases to ungodliness; that is, a man who does not believe in accepting and practising Christianity himself does not believe in it for other people, and cannot be expected so to do.

The present position is a very difficult and delicate one, and needs to be handled with care and skill. The native is reaching the stage of adolescence, and needs all the wise advice and sane guidance that he can get. Repression and unwise restraint can only lead to irreparable evil. The missionaries are (or should be) the natural advisers of the people. That they sometimes make mistakes is true, but they are doing the best they can for the benefit of both races; they only ask for fair play and unprejudiced investigation of results.

It is impossible to do more than to touch the fringe of the subject within the limits of a column, but the work of the past and the needs of the future may perhaps be summarised as follows:—The Zulu language has been reduced to writing, its grammatical construction has been discovered and made easy of apprehension, and many books have been translated, the greatest of them the Bible. Hundreds of schools have been opened, and thousands of scholars have been taught to read and write in their own tongue, together with the elementary parts of an English education. Churches have been built, and congregations established, and the field so well covered that only in the remoter parts of Zululand can the people be said to be absolutely unevangelised.

The Christian community now forms an important part of the Zulu nation, and will, as time passes, prove its value to the State as a moral, physical, and commercial asset. Tens of thousands of raw heathen have been, by the proclamation of the Gospel, turned from gross sin and degrading superstitition "to serve the living and true God, and wait for His Son from heaven."

Nevertheless, there is no Society that is prepared to say that its work is finished. Much remains undone that needs doing. There are hundreds of thousands of natives who are still in the awful darkness of superstitious heathenism; there are many semi-civilised, "dressed" people who need to be told that "faith without works is dead"; there are congregations that need to be organised and cared for; there are schools that want establishment and supervision; there is a crying need for more native ministers, evangelists, teachers, and trained lay preachers; much remains to be done in the improvement of social conditions and the uplifting of moral standards; there is a call for more itinerating evangelistic work, for the establishment of industrial centres, and for guidance along agricultural lines; there is a lack of good, up-to-date Zulu literature; and there is need for more co-operation between the Societies. Lastly, there is plenty of room for more sympathy for the missionaries and their work on the part of the Christian public of Natal, a sympathy that shall be real and constant, and expressed in sane and practical fashion.

In conclusion, the writer wishes to state that he believes that neither education, civilisation, or legislation can change a black man's (or a white man's) character, or make a bad man good. Nothing but regeneration can accomplish this, and regeneration implies a heart-belief in Jesus the Son of God and personal Saviour and Redeemer, and a deliberate surrender of spirit, soul, and body into His eternal keeping.

UNION FINANCE.

(BY JAMES HENDERSON, M.L.A.)

The Union Government has now been in office for two-and-a-half years, and during that time has presented three Budgets to Parliament for their consideration.

The first was for the ten months, 31st May, 1910, to 31st March, 1911, and showed an estimated deficit of £742,000. The second was for the year 31st March, 1911, and 31st March, 1912, and showed an estimated deficit of £1,307,000. The third, for the year 31st March, 1912, to 31st March, 1913, showed an estimated deficit of £1,020,000.

These deficits, of course, are on the general administration, apart from the Railway Department. The profits on the working of the railway system throughout the Union have been more than sufficient to cover the deficits on the other services, but as, according to the Act of Union, the railways are to cease making profits in four years after Union—that is after 31st May, 1910—we must leave them out of account if we wish to find out what the financial position of the Union is likely to be within the next few years. The foregoing figures will show that the ordinary revenue of the country falls far short of

covering the ordinary expenditure as at present arranged, and the question is already debated how the differences are to be met.

Some politicians—I may say most of the politicians—clearly contemplate and suggest only increased taxation of various kinds, but a few, more thoughtful and farseeing, are urging and pleading for decreased expenditure. Is it possible to reduce the ordinary expenditure of the Union? Mr. Hull, the late Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech delivered on 22nd March last said: "I fear that my next Budget statement will foreshadow fresh taxation of some description. It would be wholly indefensible, of course, to impose any fresh burdens upon the country so long as there was a possibility of effecting economies of administration, but I confess that I am unable to perceive how we can do very much more in the way of reducing expenditure." This seems an authoritative statement from one who was in an exceptionally good position to know, but we must not forget that Mr. Hull has been frequently accused of framing his Budgets on the system of over-estimating his expenditure and under-estimating his revenue, so that he might be able at the end of the financial year to announce that things have turned out better than he expected, and instead of a deficit, that he was able to show a surplus. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Hull was generally understood to be sincerely desirons of effecting economies, and if granted a free hand would probably have done so, but the claims of his party were too strong for him. Other financial authorities, both in and outside of Parliament, on the other hand, are very emphatic that the national expenditure is unnecessarily large, and is capable of very considerable reduction without in any way impairing the efficiency of the administrative machine, and one is inclined to agree with them when one remembers that the estimated expenditure of the current year, apart altogether from the Railway Department, is estimated at over £17,000,000. This seems an enormous sum for a country such as ours, and yet it is difficult to realise its significance until we compare it with the expenditure of other countries. France is generally regarded as being one of the most heavily taxed nations in the world, and yet South Africa is paying more for government and administration per head of the population even than France. Taking one coloured man as equal to one white man, and four natives as equal to one white man, the expenditure per head is £4 14s. 3d., as against £4 6s. 7d. in France. That is after allowing for interest paid on railways in South Africa and other sums in order to make the basis as fair as possible. But in making this comparison it should be borne in mind that in the French expenditure is included the cost of maintaining a large navy and a huge army, from which the Union is exempt. I think that all impartial and experienced men, no matter to what party they may belong, and especially those who have carefully studied the estimates of expenditure laid before Parliament, must be convinced, whether they admit it or not, that the expenditure of the Union is much too high, and is capable of considerable reduction.

An eminent authority on financial matters has said: "An excess in the public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a pecuniary waste, but a great political, and, above all, a great moral evil. It is a characteristic of the mischiefs that arise from financal prodigality that they creep onwards with a noiseless and stealthy step, that they commonly remain unseen until they have reached a magnitude absolutely overwhelming."

The feelings of disquiet and concern with which the thoughtful, experienced man contemplates the annual deficits to which I have referred will be intensified when he considers that these shortfalls of revenue, as compared with expenditure, are taking place when the people are said to be exceptionally prosperous and the country is going ahead. It would necessitate fairly heavy taxation of some sort, even now, to cover these deficits, but what would it be if the country gets a set-back, and bad times come along, as they undoubtedly will unless there is a radical change in the policy of those who have the power to shape the destiny of this sub-Continent? Heavy taxation, whether direct or indirect, can only have the effect of increasing the cost of living already rather high, and making the Union of South Africa a less desirable place for white people to settle and bring up families in than it is at present.

I am of opinion, therefore, that further taxation should not be imposed, and that even the Customs duties should not be increased at present. If further revenue is raised to cover our present inflated expenditure, it will be spent without doing the country any real and permanent good, and will only lead to further extravagance. Our first duty is to get our expenditure put on a proper basis in relation to the population, to the needs, and to the resources of the country. But how it is to be done is the problem. It must be accomplished through Parliament, of course, but so far every attempt on the part of the economists in the House of Assembly to effect some reduction in the estimates of expenditure have been frustrated by the supporters of the Government, amongst whom are many who must vote

against their convictions in this matter. Notwithstanding all the criticisms and warnings and attempts to effect reductions, the Estimate for 1912-13 show a net increase of about a quarter of a million over the previous year, and the expenditure of the Union is estimated to be about one and three-quarter millions higher than that of the four separate Colonies before Union took place. Were there more men of business training and experience in our legislature, the unreasonableness and danger of the position would be more readily recognised and given expression to; but, unfortunately, this is not the case. The majority of our legislators, and especially of those who support the Government of the day, are, apart from railway charges, almost exempt from taxation at present, and the financial burden of the Administration rests but lightly on their shoulders. And so long as the machinery of government is in their hands, and they can maintain that position, they are not likely to concern themselves as to how much is spent or how it is disposed of. They have no objection to further taxation should the Government say it is absolutely necessary, provided that it does not fall very heavily upon them, but they would prefer that every other method of raising funds should be exhausted first. For instance, they might agree under stress of circumstances to further taxation of the mining and other industries, to increased Customs duties on agricultural imports, or even to a modified form of income tax, but any taxation of land values must not be thought of except as a last resort.

If it were only possible to get a Commission appointed composed of men like J. X. Merriman, Patrick Duncan, H. C. Hull, General Smuts, J. W. Jagger, and one or two experienced non-party business men, with powers to effect a thorough overhaul and re-organisation of the railways and the public service departments, I believe that a saving in expenditure of close on £1,000,000 per annum could be effected without any sacrifice of efficiency, but I am afraid this suggestion will be regarded as a counsel of perfection, and is not likely to be given effect to by the powers that be. Failing some such action, to the advocates of economical administration the outlook is not a bright one, and the process of educating the mass of the electors to a full sense of their responsibilities in this direction, and of acting up to them, will be long and slow I fear, but it is the duty of all who truly love South Africa, and desire to see her start her career on safe and sound lines, to take a hand in this exceedingly important matter and try and bring about a better state of things.

SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE.

By P. A. SILBURN, D.S.O., M.L.A. (author of "The Colonies and Imperial Defence," "The Governance of Empire," and "The Evolution of Sea-Power.")

Space forbids more than touching upon the fringe of a subject of such importance, not alone to the Union of South Africa, but to the whole British Empire.

It must be remembered that war in any form occurring in one part of the Empire affects, in a lesser or greater degree, the whole. The ideal in Imperial defence is for each part of the Empire to make itself absolutely secure against internal and external attack, and for the civilised inhabitants of that Empire to contribute equally towards an unquestionable command of the sea; this, then, is the ideal towards which several steps have been made within the past decade, the last of these forward steps being the passing of the South African Defence Act.

In this age of materialism and in a country whose people have developed materialistic characteristics at the expense of more important qualities, it is difficult to arouse interest in anything which does not mean immediate profit to self. In spite of experience, the people of South Africa are prone to forget that this sub-Continent calls for greater self-sacrifice on the part of its white inhabitants, if the efficient defence of this important strategical quarter of the Empire is to be assured.

The ruins of Zimbabwe, the ancient tin workings of the Northern Transvaal, together with the utensils and tools there found, and the extant stone quay walls along the Zambesi, indicate that in a bygone age South Africa was the scene of a form of civilisation, the standard and extent of which is still a mystery; but that that civilisation came to an abrupt end at the hands of a human enemy is shown from the conditions under which certain relics have been discovered; gold ornaments and other works of art could only have been cast aside and abandoned under great stress, and the condition and positions in which these have been found leave little doubt but that the civilisation of that period was destroyed in South Africa by war. It has not been satisfactorily shown that the representatives of that civilisation were either few or isolated; the extent and permanency of some of their work would rather suggest that a civilised people, strong in numbers, well advanced in the arts and crafts, had occupied a large area of this Continent for a considerable period, and that these people

were expelled or destroyed by force of arms. This, then, leads us to believe that such a civilised community, believed by some to have been Phoenicians, by others Egyptians, and still by other authorities to have belonged to a more recent race, had been so absorbed in their search for and the working of mineral wealth as to have so neglected their defence of life and property that they fell an easy prey to the savage tribes encroaching from the North: we see that the ancient history of this country holds a warning for its inhabitants of to-day.

The conditions calling for the defence of South Africa are unique, and differ widely from those governing the defence schemes of the other oversea Dominions of the Empire. The indigenous population, south of the Zambesi, is variously estimated at from six to eight millions. This population represents a minimum fighting force of one million. These people are increasing at a greater ratio than the European population of this country; furthermore they have warlike traditions, and large numbers are still banded together in strong tribes, occupying formidable strategic positions. Then, too, many of these tribes are in possession of weapons of precision, and have the knowledge of their use.

The fact that South Africa divides a frontier line of 1,500 miles with the most powerful military nation in Europe—a nation that is straining every resource to challenge Great Britain for the command of the sea—only adds another disturbing factor to an already complex problem. Then, again, there is a third and very important factor to be considered: South Africa produces one-third of the gold of the world. This gold represents purchasing power; this fact, apart from many other considerations, makes her a most desirable possession in the eyes of those naval and military Powers seeking oversea possessions.

Those responsible for the drafting of the South African Defence Act had to consider and to make provision for those forms of armed aggression South Africa is peculiarly liable to. These are:—

(a) Civil war—i.e., revolt against the Constitution.

(b) Invasion from seawards, with co-operation from German West Africa.

(c) Bombardment of seaports.

(d) Invasion from seawards by naval Power other than Germany.

(e) Land invasion from German West Africa.

(f) Native rebellion.

(g) Native war.

(a) CIVIL WAR

is a danger which all nations in embryo are liable to suffer from. We find a comparatively recent instance in the Civil War of America. It is, in fact, one of the many national infantile diseases. The more autocratic the constitution and its workings, the more certain is the revolt against it. It is possible for dissatisfaction to arise on the part of one or more of the absorbed States at the policy of the Union Government, followed by an attempt to break from the Union. To prevent this an efficient defence organisation must place the armed power in the hands of the Government of the day.

The magnitude of the struggle would depend upon the size and importance of the State or States seceding, the justice of the cause, and the extent of public feeling.

Any attempt made by a section of Parliament or of the people to depart from the essential provisions of the Constitution might likewise call for armed intervention, resulting in an upheaval of popular feeling, and in civil war.

(b) INVASION FROM SEAWARDS, WITH CO-OPERATION FROM GERMAN WEST AFRICA.

This presupposes war between Great Britain and Germany, and the temporary loss by the former of the command of the sea, or at least such a contingency as would deplete for a time South African waters of British warships. German troops, previously mobilised at German East Africa, would possibly be embarked there and landed at some of the unfortified eastern parts of the Union, or on the Natal coast; but such an invasion from seawards would be primarily for the purpose of diverting troops from resisting the more serious invasion from German West Africa. It is difficult to estimate what active co-operation would be given by sympathisers within the territory to be invaded. We have two precedents in the history of the British Empire for this form of aggression—viz., in India and in Canada—yet in neither case did Great Britain surrender the command of the sea to France, even temporarily.

However determined such an invasion might be, the danger of its success lies solely in ignoring it as an absurdity, and therefore being unprepared with organisation to meet it.

(c) BOMBARDMENT OF SEAPORTS.

Predatory attacks by commerce destroyers does not imply that Great Britain's command of the sea is even endangered.

Too little attention has been given by South Africans to their harbour defences. The Colonists fail to realise that in this form of defence their responsibilities are not limited to their own lives and property, but extend to the protection of such shipping as may seek succour under their walls. A naval war against Great Britain includes a systematic attempt to destroy her commerce—for the two-fold purpose of the great damage such will entail, and an attempt to weaken the British fleets by the detailing of ships for coastal and commerce protection.

(d) INVASION FROM SEAWARDS BY NAVAL POWER OTHER THAN GERMANY.

It is possible for Great Britain to temporarily lose the command of the sea to a naval alliance. In such an event an ambitious Power might seriously endeavour to capture and temporarily occupy the principal seaports of the Union. The main object of such an invasion would be the strategic value of Natal and the Cape, and the value of such in future peace negotiations. The abandonment of the captured positions would necessarily follow the regaining by Great Britain of the command of the sea.

War between Great Britain and an alliance in which France was a partner would mean the continual harassing of the South African ports by cruisers from Madagascar and Bourbon.

(e) LAND INVASION FROM THE WEST.

Lack of statescraft, all but criminal, placed Great Britain's future foe in such a strategic position as makes Germany a continual threat to British South Africa.

Presupposing war between Germany and Great Britain, or that the forces of the latter are so engaged elsewhere as to leave Germany free to act against such British Colonies as she is able to invade by land, the importance strategically and the material value of the Union is such that Germany would not hesitate in an immediate invasion from her West African possessions.

(f) NATIVE REBELLION.

Apparently insignificant as many of the tribal disturbances may appear, the firm and successful repression of these in their earliest stages calls for the highest organisation and mobility of the Union Defence Force, for upon this rests the responsibility of extinguishing the flame before it has spread into a conflagration.

Colonial history has shown that these revolts are of varying degree—from the mere tribal affair to be dealt with by a police patrol to that rising of one or more tribes against the authority of Government, and calling for immediate suppression by a large section of the Colonial defence force.

In the quelling of these incipient revolts before they had grown into rebellion, and spread to war calling for large expenditure to meet and suppress, the mounted police forces of South Africa have been of inestimable value, and the services of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, the Cape Mounted Police, and the Natal Mounted Police in this respect have not received that recognition they are justly entitled to. It is quite impossible to estimate the expenditure in lives and money saved to South Afria by these corps having been ever ready to deal with the lesser revolts—because they had been successfully dealt with, the public heard nothing of them.

(g) NATIVE WAR.

By native war, as distinguished from native revolt, is understood an organised combination of tribes fighting for a common object. Such a war may, providing the defence organisation is efficient, be localised and restricted to well-defined areas in its early stages. This was successfully accomplished in the Zulu War of 1879, and the Basuto War of 1881.

In pre-Union days the strain upon the defence organisations was not made by a combination of the native races; this want of organisation was mainly due to tribal jealousies and lack of communication. Education, carrying in its wake discontent, is spreading among the people; the reason for their ill-success is now to them becoming more clear.

With the advent of a common native policy there may be created elements for a common grievance—in the form of taxation, land laws, interference with tribal customs, or labour legislation—grievances which may culminate in war, the extent, cost, and duration of which must depend upon the organisation and administration of the Union Defence Forces.

At any moment questions may arise which will alter the status of the semi-independent States of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. Apart from the break in the eographical homogeneity of the Union by these native States, there is the possibility of native policies being followed in conflict with that adopted by the Union. The result can only be harmful and dangerous to the peace and prosperity of South Africa.

Basutoland, a small mountainous country, resembles Switzerland in many respects—especially in its situation to its neighbours, and in the hardy and independent character of its people.

The prestige gained by this native race in their war with the Cape in 1880, resulting as it did in their gaining independence from that Colony, has raised them to a very high position as a fighting people in the eyes of the native races of South Africa, and in a war between the Basutos and Europeans the former could depend upon the active support of other tribes, even in remote parts of South Africa. The inclusion of this native State into the Union will in all probability result in war; the inaccessibility of their country and the mobility of their fighting men means that their struggle for independence will be strenuous, calling for the efficient administration of the Defence Act to meet it and to confine the struggle within the borders of Basutoland itself.

It is admitted by military authorities that the South African Defence Act is well conceived, and meets the peculiar requirements of this country. It allows for obtaining the maximum efficiency at a minimum of inconvenience to the individual; but many statutes of equal excellence have become bad in practice through faulty administration. If the Defence Force is to be really efficient, political interference must be avoided; there are indications that appointments in the force have been made by political favour. It was this very canker that destroyed the efficiency of the Natal Militia Act.

It is rightly held that the Defence Council is weak in number; this body should consist of not less than six members, instead of four, and much of the power now held by the Minister should be in their hands. It will be next to impossible to regulate appointment and promotion solely by merit unless the power for making such is in the hands of the Defence Council.

I have contended for many years that South African defence should be considered as a department in Imperial defence, the foundation of which is the Navy; if this foundation crumbles the whole structure will come down. It is, therefore, the duty of every South African, as it is for every other member of the Empire, to see that this foundation is strong and in perfect order. Adequate coast defence will go a long way towards assisting in retaining Great Britain's command of the sea. Apart from a patriotic duty, it is a selfish duty to do more than this, for where our very liberty is at stake we cannot be too generous in contributing to the means by which that liberty is secured.

The decision of the Liberal Government to reduce the Imperial garrison in South Africa can only be accounted for as subordinating Imperial obligations to the requests of that political party in power in South Africa to-day; whilst India is part of the Empire, and so long as our flag is found in the East, and the Suez Canal liable to destruction, then it is necessary to keep a strong garrison in South Africa. But in this respect Imperial responsibilities in South Africa are growing rather than diminishing, for Rhodesia is developing, and the security of the British population there is the responsibility of the Imperial Government. No doubt the present Home Government, acting upon the advice of the Union Ministers, will endeavour to influence that British Colony to join the Union; but Natal's experience is sufficient warning to the Rhodesians, and every endeavour should be made by the people of Rhodesia to organise its own defence force against that time for which the Union Government is working, the evacuation of South Africa by the British troops.

HARBOURS OF BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA.

(By CATHCART W. METHVEN, F.R.S.E., M.Inst.C.E., etc.)

A remarkable feature of the South-East African coast is the absence of deep water indentations forming natural sheltered harbours. Such embayments as do exist lie between False Bay and Algoa Bay. North of this, although there are small rivers and some lagoons presenting certain possibilities as harbours, only to be realised, however, by considerable expenditure, there is not a single well sheltered deep water indentation on the coast line the whole way to Delagoa Bay. The main reason for this is that—unlike some other parts of the world, where gradual sinking of the coast has submerged deeply eroded valleys, thus forming deep and sheltered natural harbours—there is clear proof that within recent geological times the coast of South-East Africa has been gradually rising. With the exception of Capetown, Durban, and Delagoa Bay—a Portuguese possession—and possibly Port Elizabeth in Algoa Bay, South-East Africa will have to look for her harbours chiefly to the rivers. Owing to the rapid rise of the back country, none of these are navigable for any distance, but many of them, with the lagoons found at their mouths, have features which modern engineering can deal with efficiently, though unfortunately, in every case with which the author is acquainted, they are such as to involve constant dredging.

On the West Coast there are, of course, the well known natural harbours of Saldanha Bay and Port Nolloth, the port of the copper mines, the first only some 60 miles north of Capetown. Though practically nothing in the way of development of these has yet taken place, they are no doubt destined to become great South African harbours.

Table Bay.

The oldest harbour of South Africa is, of course, Table Bay. The breakwater was designed by the late Sir John Coode, and is about 3,700 feet in length, consisting of a rubble mound and concrete superstructure. The author, who on the invitation of the Cape Government in 1902 visited and, in conjunction with Mr. Hammersley Heenen, their late engineer, reported on the whole system of docks there, recommended an extension of the breakwater for 1,000 feet in length, to afford more shelter to the present dock entrance and that of the proposed dock extensions. This work has not yet, however, been carried out.

The breakwater is the sole means of protection for this port, which otherwise would be quite open to north-westerly seas. These are frequently of great violence, and waves estimated at from 25 to 30 feet in height from trough to crest have been observed passing under the breakwater staging during construction.

The two existing docks, one of 64 acres with jetties projecting into it, and the other of 8½ acres, are situated immediately under the lee of the breakwater.

The scheme of extension, as proposed by the author and Mr. Heenan, consisted mainly of a doubling of the South Pier of the present docks, the extension of the South Pier elbow southwards to a new entrance, between which and Craig's Battery on the S.E. side of the Bay a concrete block mole about 7,000 feet in length was also proposed, enclosing about 431 acres of the Bay immediately in front of Capetown with a system of jetties within it. The cost of the proposed scheme, including the reclamation of the foreshore between a point 1,300 feet south of the proposed Adderley Street pier and the present docks, but without the intervening jetties, was estimated at about £3,500,000. Very little of this scheme has as yet been carried out, and the author is informed that circumstances have arisen which may necessitate some modification of it. A vast territory has now been thrown open for development and for trade with other parts of the world, and considering the somewhat limited capacity of the other Cape ports and of the railways which serve them, it may confidently be predicted that, even with all the disadvantages of geographical position as regards the Transvaal and Rhodesia, Capetown will command a large and constantly increasing inland trade, while as a port of call it must steadily grow in importance as commercial relations between the Cape and Australia extend, and as the Union Government develop and extend the railway system of the country. The following figures for the year 1911 speak for themselves, viz.: Imports, £7,435,688; exports, £43,904,466. The number of vessels entering was 1,140, of a registered gross tonnage of 5,678,552 tons. It is important to point out, however, that the large sum representing exports is inclusive of £33,909,486 value of gold and £8,281,907 value of diamonds, thus leaving the value of other exports as £1,623,073.

Simonstown.

In False Bay, which has an entrance about 25 miles in width, the only comparatively sheltered spot, which is at Simonstown, is occupied by an important naval station maintained by the Imperial Government.

Plettenberg Bay.

This was examined by the late Sir John Coode in 1872. He looked upon it as a possible harbour of refuge, being protected against all winds between S.E. and S.W. by a promontory two miles long terminating in Cape Seal, with good depths and anchorage under it. Its geographical position was not considered so good, however, as that of Mossel Bay, which was more resorted to by sailing vessels seeking shelter in heavy westerly and north-westerly winds.

Mossel Bay.

The author visited this Bay in 1902 for the Cape Government. While possible to construct works there which would form a harbour of considerable capabilities, its serious exposure to heavy rollers from the S.E., and its general contour, did not appear to him to be features which would recommend it as a good site for a harbour of refuge. There is a thriving community at Mossel Bay and about 6,500 square miles of rich agricultural country to be served at the back of the port (equal to nearly twice the area of Wales), and which would probably be doubled if the railway were extended to Oudtshoorn and Nels Poort. There is a partially constructed breakwater, and some small wharfage works

have also been carried out, and a lighterage trade is carried on with vessels calling at the port.

Knysna.

This is one of the very few natural harbours on the S.E. Coast unvisited by the author. It lies about 60 miles eastwards of Mossel Bay. The entrance, which is open to southerly and south-easterly seas, has, however, other physical features which, though perhaps not presenting insurmountable difficulties, militate against its development to a considerable extent. A certain amount of trade, however, has been carried on here in connection with timber from the Knysna forests.

Algoa Bay.

This, or as it is generally called Port Elizabeth, is the last of a series of embayments proceeding N.E. from Cape Agulhas, and in 1820 was only a small fishing village with a military post. To-day it is one of the most important of the Union ports of the Cape Province, with a population of about 46,000 persons, of whom some 24,000 are Europeans. Considerable shelter from southerly to south-westerly seas is afforded by Cape Recife, but the Bay is open to heavy south-easterly gales, which have more than once caused serious casualties to shipping at anchor in the roadstead. In spite of all difficulties, however, a large trade has been developed and carried on by means of lighterage and iron jetties, well equipped with hydraulic cranes, and the remarkable strides in commercial prosperity which the port has made are shown by the fact that the value of imports for 1911 was £8,792,468, and that of exports £3,470,273, and the registered gross tonnage of the 549 vessels using the port was 3,292,192 tons. Many proposals have been made to remedy the want of sufficient shelter from the S.E. The author was called upon in 1903 to report upon the practicability of opening the neighbouring Zwartkop River, but though practicable, the question of vested interests stands in the way. Two extensive schemes for sheltering the anchorage and for the provision of docks, by Messrs. Coode, Son & Mathews, and by the author, are before the Union Government, but nothing has yet been decided upon.

Port Alfred.

This is situated at the mouth of the Kowie River, which has a tidal compartment about 12 miles in length, a width varying from 250 to 500 feet, and depths of from 5ft to 10ft at L.W.O.S.T. The mouth of the river is fully exposed to gales from the S.W. round to east. The late well-known engineer Mr. James M. Rendel laid down a plan for opening up this harbour, which was unfortunately seriously deviated from, and the entrance was reduced to the unworkable width of 170 feet. The late Sir John Coode constructed some entrance works, and in 1877 the trade of the port was increasing, the Customs dues having risen from £3,200 in 1871 to £30,000 in 1876. The depth of water on the bar anticipated by Sir John Coode was not, however, realised, and, owing to want of depth, and competition with Port Elizabeth, the trade gradually diminished, and eventually disappeared, and the works were abandoned.

In 1900 the author was requested by the Cape Governmen to examine the river with the view of seeing what could be done to remedy the then existing state of matters, and utilise the works already constructed. A scheme was prepared to this end, and laid before the Government, but nothing so far has been done. As compared with both East London and Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred is favourably situated, and is in a position, so far as railway communication is concerned, to compete for a fair share of the inland trade.

East London.

The Buffalo River, at whose mouth is the port of East London, is of the same type as the Kowie River, and is exposed to very heavy seas. In 1835 the river mouth for some little distance up was heavily encumbered with shallow sand banks. The first serious attempt to improve the river was made about 1870 by Sir John Coode, but it was not until 1884 that the present entrance works were completed. These works were insufficient to give the depth of from 15ft. to 18ft. then expected. Dredging was therefore resorted to, and in recent years great progress has been made. The difficulty in the navigation of the entrance due to the unfortunate position of the eastern pier, and the contraction of the channel some little distance within the entrance by a western wall, is now being remedied. This question has been investigated and reported upon by several engineers, including Messrs. Coode, Son & Mathews, the late Mr. Tippet, Mr. Nicholson, the engineer of Table Bay harbour, and others, as well as by the author, in 1901, who also on behalf of the Union Government made a final investigation in 1910, resulting in a plan for the entire

re-modelling of the entrance, and the removal of some rock which was found to encumber it. This plan was approved by the various local engineers and authorities concerned, and is now being carried out by the Government.

When completed it will give an entrance some 600ft. in width, a straight lead into the harbour, better shelter, and, it is hoped, with the assistance of dredging, greater depths. The author knows of no other port situated like East London on a sandy foreshore, exposed to tremendous seas on an open seaboard, without any shelter, and hampered within by precipitous rocky slopes on each side of the river, and consequent want of space, where difficulties of so unusual a nature have been successfully overcome.

The commercial progress of the port is demonstrated by the fact that in 1911 the value of imports was £4,130,633, and of the exports £1,708,198, while 554 vessels entered the harbour of a registered gross tonnage of 2,998,520 tons.

Port St. John's.

Port St. John's, at the mouth of the Umzimvubu River, has very distinct natural advantage as a port over those of the Buffalo River, although the river banks for the first mile and a half are very precipitous, and the country will present some problems in railway engineering. The river has the greatest discharge, tidal and otherwise, on this part of the coast. It has a course of about 150 miles, and a watershed of about 7,376 square miles, whereas the Buffalo River watershed is only about 580 square miles. Its tidal volume at spring tides is about 5,250,000 tons. The mouth of the river is badly barred by sand, but derives considerable shelter from Cape Hermes against southerly and south-westerly seas. Its tidal compartment reaches about 15 miles inland, but is not deep, though capable of being dredged. On the whole the author considers this the best site, so far as physical features are concerned, for a port, between the Cape and Durban.

In 1897 the author made a careful examination and survey of the river, and Gordon Bay in front of it, for the Cape Government, and laid down a scheme including entrance works, training walls, and a large tidal basin, none of which works, however, have yet been commenced. A very rich country agriculturally and minerally lies at the back of Port St. John's, which is the natural port for Eastern and Western Pondoland, Griqualand East, and the districts of Barkly East, Basutoland, and Maclear.

Port Shepstone.

The Umzimkulu, on which this port is situated, is one of the minor rivers on the south-east coast, but is capable of being developed into a useful port if the prospective trade of the districts it will serve warrants the necessary expenditure. As it is connected by rail with Durban, no very serious attempt has yet been made to open it. What has been done, however, although involving heavy expenditure, could not by any possibility have effected any material improvement to the entrance, as it in no way alters, or even modifies, the original physical conditions. The exposed end of the single existing entrance work on the south side of the river was also of far too unsubstantial design, and has been seriously damaged by the seas. The port as it stands is an example of the futility of attempting to solve such problems as the opening up of these small sand-barred rivers without the most careful investigation into their physical characteristics, and the fullest recognition of the ultimate expense involved in carrying out the necessary works.

Durban.

The only break of importance on the whole coast line of Natal is the inner Bay or Lagoon of Durban. Although Capetown is the older, and, historically perhaps, the premier port of South Africa, Durban may fairly be looked upon as the most up-to-date, and in all respects the most convenient and best sheltered haven for shipping from the Cape to Delagoa Bay. It is, in fact, a huge natural tidal dock, with a rise of tide of only a little over 6ft., which in no way interferes with the convenience of vessels lying at the wharves. Originally it was a large shallow lagoon filled with sand banks up to a level of about 3ft. above low water, with tortuous channels meandering through them. It was barred by what so eminent an authority as Sir William Mathews has described as "one of the worst sand bars in the world." By means of the persistent efforts of the Colony of Natal, and the expenditure of something like £4,000,000 on entrance works, dredgers, and inner developments in the way of wharves, and modern harbour appliances, such as hydraulic and electric cranes, and coaling appliances, floating dock, and ample railway connections on both sides of the Bay, together with most admirable municipal improvements, Durban easily holds its own with many of the most important deep water harbours of the world. The depth on the bar, originally about 6ft. at

low water of spring tides, and often much less, now averages about 35ft. at low water. During the meeting of the South African Convention in 1908 several of his Majesty's ships of war entered the harbour at dead low water and anchored inside. The mail steamers of the Union-Castle Company regularly enter the harbour every week without fail, as well as large Australian liners up to about 14,000 registered tonnage.

Many eminent engineers have been concerned in the making of this port, to a greater or less degree, and many plans were devised—in some cases partly executed, and in others thrown out altogether. The plans as now executed, combined with the policy of open sea dredging, were those of the author, which were finally adopted after further expert opinion had been obtained, only a slight modification being made in making the entrance somewhat narrower. The name of the late Hon. Harry Escombe, P.C., will always be identified with this great work by reason of the important political assistance he rendered, both in Parliament and as chairman of the Harbour Board.

The commercial progress of the port has been remarkable, and in 1911 the value of the imports had reached the high figure of £11,360,205, and that of the exports £4,381,442, while the registered gross tonnage of the 1,550 vessels which entered the harbour was 6,704,558 tons. During the same year the amount of coal bunkered was 1,273,499 tons, and considerable extension of the coaling plant is under contemplation to meet this rapidly growing trade.

This, with a shorter line of better grades to the coal district, is one of the most urgent necessities in connection with the further development of the Port, there being an unlimited supply of coal within easy reach, and one might almost say an unlimited market. Looking to what has happened at all other deep water ports in touch with a similar coal supply, the enormous developments which have taken place at such ports, both in the work of the bunkering and export trades to all parts of the world, it would appear that Durban's fortunate position in this respect, if fully taken advantage of, will lead to developments in the coal trade perhaps not fully realised at the present time. This, of course, means further development of the coalfields, and following from this of every kind of industry where cheap coal is an essential condition: in fact, a general development of the resources of the country, the importance of which a far-seeing Government cannot fail to perceive. In any such extension of coaling appliances at the Port, every endeavour should be made to secure the most expeditious and direct methods of transferring the coal from the mine to the ship, with the least possible amount of handling.

In all modern docks the coaling equipment aims at the most direct method of transferring the coal from truck to ship, and the least possible wastage by breaking up the more friable kinds. This is no doubt greatly facilitated by the smaller size of trucks in use at the Home ports, but at some of the newer docks provision was under consideration, when the author visited them a few years ago, for the direct tipping of trucks not much less in capacity than those in Natal, while for such purposes hydraulic power, for the actual working of all coaling hoists, where the load is not a variable one, was preferred to electrical power by practically all the engineers the author met, even though the pumps might be electrically driven.

Another urgent necessity at Durban is that of a large graving dock. This is an essential part of the equipment of every harbour of any consequence, and indeed its absence may be looked upon as absolutely injurious to the prospects of any port, and more especially in the case of a port in an isolated position, such as that of Durban.

It may be true that the Imperial Government contemplates establishing a naval station on Salisbury Island, and of course therefore a graving dock in connection therewith.

In such a case, however, the dock would have to be kept in a continual state of preparedness for the purposes of the Admiralty, and could not be relied upon as a commercial dock, and it is a commercial dock of ample size which, on occasion, could also be used for Admiralty purposes, that Durban requires.

Durban as a terminal port accommodates, as the author has shown above, the largest gross tonnage of shipping of any port in South Africa, consisting of vessels greatly varying in tonnage and dranght, and as a commercial dock for such purposes would probably be divided, so as to be used either for a large vessel or for two or more smaller ones, that occupying the dock for the longest time being placed at the head, the first half of such a dock, with its entrance works and dividing inverts, and caissons, could be constructed

first, and completed in a comparatively short time, the other half being added on completion if it were found that, for financial or other reasons, it was inadvisable to adopt the otherwise preferable course of making one contract for the whole.

In any case, it is high time that this important work, for which the author proposed a site some twenty years ago, was entered upon, although the subsequent developments which have taken place may probably now necessitate a different site.

Umhlatuzi.

This magnificent lagoon in Zululand cannot yet be dignified with the name of a port. It was examined and surveyed by the author in 1903, and is capable of being developed into a very fine harbour, though at considerable expense. Its area is even larger than that of the Bay of Durban. Several surveys have also been made to ascertain the best railway route from it to the interior. The author also examined and reported on St. Lucia Bay at the same time, but, of the two, considered the Umhlatuzi Lagoon the most favourable site for a harbour, and so recommended it to the Natal Government.

RAILWAY POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By Sir DAVID HUNTER, K.C.M.G., M.L.A. (late General Manager Natal Government Railways).

The editor has done me the honour of asking me to contribute to the Diamond Jubilee number of the "Natal Mercury" an article on "Railway Policy in South Africa," and, with editorial caution, has restricted me to a limit of space which I am not to exceed. I have the feeling that in this particular case the caution is not very necessary, as one might well be justified in following the model of the famous chapter on Snakes from the old Danish writer's "History of Iceland," which consists of these words: "There are no snakes to be met with throughout the whole island."

When the Draft Act of Union was being discussed in the early part of 1909, various opinions were expressed as to the Railway Clauses, and among my papers of that time I find a page of the "Weekly Mercury" of Feb. 19, 1909, which contains views of some of my friends to which reference may be made. One column (unfortunately incomplete) is headed:—

"What Occurred at Convention."
"Mr. Jagger Draws the Veil."
"Vision of Harmony and Love."

The opinion of another—one of our most eminent lawyers, as given at a meeting of railwaymen, is thus related:—

"What the new Constitution did was that it took over the Railways, Harbours and Ports out of the political arena, and runs the business by means of a committee of three, without any interference from politicians." The speeches made and opinions expressed by public men at that time were all in the same vein, and that definition of the Railway Clauses of the Draft Act of Union was undoubtedly in accordance with the honest and trusting opinion of the eminent men who composed the Convention, with many of whom I have since been politically associated. I was not then in politics, nor had I any intention of seeking the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, but the enterprising representative of the "Mercury" promptly waited upon me to ascertain my views on the Draft Act, and, in reply to his questions, I am reported to have said, inter alia: "The proposed scheme for the administration of railways and harbours is especially disappointing....and the arrangement practically turns the great system of South Africa's railways and harbours into a political machine, to be manipulated by the party in power. I can conceive no more dangerous method of administering a great property. What is required is an administration entirely non-political and unfettered, excepting by general instructions set out in an Act of Parliament, following the Australian precedent"—a method which, I may here say, has successfully stood the test of experience in all the Australian Colonies for the last 24 years.

The experience gained during the first two sessions of the Union Parliament in regard to railways questions has been most unsatisfactory, and it cannot be denied that the manner in which this great property, representing capital value of £85,000,000, and employing 52,000 persons, has been managed has caused great dissatisfaction, culminating in a cataclysm in the Ministry itself. In like manner, the carrying by the Government majority at the fag-end of the first session of Construction Bills amounting to nearly £2,500,000 for railways between places which many members could not even find on the map, and without a single

word of explanation, was a fitting exhibition of the "policy" pursued; while the inevitable touch of absurdity was given to the whole proceedings by the laying of the information upon the table of the House of Assembly at the following session!

Vigorous attempts were made during last session in the Select Committee on Railways and Harbours, and in the House of Assembly, to have the powers and functions of the Railway Board properly defined by law, but without result, and the position remains unchanged, the Railway Board having no powers of initiation of policy, either constructive or administrative, but being only called in to offer opinions on matters already settled by the Government.

It will be gathered from the opening sentence of this article that I hold there is no railway policy in South Africa at present, excepting such as may be described in the well-worn lines of Wordsworth:—

"The simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

The Prime Minister, in his recent tour amongst his supporters, urged them to clamour for the railways they want, and so the evil principle is in active operation whereby political support is to be sought in the highest quarters by the giving of railways to particular districts, altogether apart from the wider general interests of the Union.

There seems but little hope at present of any adequate "policy" being framed under the Act of Union which inverts, or at any rate has been so worked as to invert, the principle upon which, it is safe to say, 95 per cent. of the public understood the Railway Board would administer the Railways.

It was expected that the Railway Board would be a body of independent and experienced men, who would initiate and put forward schemes for railway construction and administration in the best interests of the whole Union, and be the arbiters in regard to all the questions which must necessarily arise amongst the 52,000 persons employed, of whom 34,000 are white people; but the very opposite is the case and it is devoutly to be hoped that Parliament, at the next session, will deal with this subject, and make a beginning of founding a true and enlightened railway policy for South Africa.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

By E. W. EVANS, M.E.C. (Natal).
(Late President Agricultural Union of South Africa.)

In response to your request, I have pleasure in writing an article on the above subject for the Diamond Jubilee edition of your widely read and valuable paper, having had now some thirty years' experience of agriculture in Natal, and having travelled considerably in the other Provinces.

The subject should be divided into two parts, "Government" and "Individual," and as you will have many other contributors on possibly more interesting subjects, I will endeavour to be brief and give my views as shortly as possible.

Government policy in relation to agriculture in South Africa must be mainly in the direction of education and closer settlement, for though I am in favour of moderate protection to struggling industries, I regard the equipment for the contest as of much greater importance and likely to have more lasting value. Education, as it has been already started by the separate Colonies and continued by the Union Government, is on right lines. The colleges now established should be strengthened, and only the best teachers and those with enthusiasm as well as knowledge retained and engaged, as whatever may be done with our elder farmers, the great work is to train and stimulate the rising generation.

The somewhat chaotic condition of agricultural education at present, due to changing conditions, will no doubt be straightened out ere long, and I trust that good men, from whatever country they may be obtained, will be made to feel that the Government will stand by them, and that the South African service is one to be desired and trusted. Travelling experts in soil culture, fruit growing, irrigation, live stock, etc., should be a fundamental part of agricultural education, as the present workers must also be considered.

CLOSER SETTLEMENT

must also be an all-important part of Government policy in this country of magnificent distances and small population, whatever the difficulties may prove to be. Our circumstances are very different to those of the other Colonies now pressing forward on this road, and present many difficulties unknown to the fortunate possessors of millions of acres of rich and comparatively equal land. Not only has the greater part of our country passed into private owner-

ship, but the land itself and the climatic conditions vary so much that no simple system of occupation can be laid down. Moreover, we have so recently taken seriously to the exploitation of the soil, and so much has still to be learned by experience, that grave errors might easily be made were any extensive system of immigration to be introduced before these factors have been closely studied.

The presence of an overwhelming native population must also be taken into account, as making conditions unusual and different from those in other countries, although to some it may be considered as an advantage. But the greatest drawback undoubtedly exists in the fact that so much of the best land of the country is in private hands, and that the cost of purchasing enough to initiate any large scheme of immigration would be immense.

In the absence of satisfactory evidence to the contrary, and knowing the capital needed to commence farming in this country, I am inclined to advise the policy of hastening slowly in this regard. We are gradually learning how to handle the land, and the possibilities of the country; there are still many Colonial and Home-born applicants with capital and knowledge for the land available, and no doubt the special conditions obtaining here will continue to attract a very desirable class with means from other countries, and all this will be a step towards the end we all have in view.

The irrigation policy of the Government and the dry land experiments so enthusiastically undertaken by Mr. Neser, of Klerksdorp, and Dr. MacDonald will all help to solve the difficult problem, but I do not consider that we have at present enough information or experience to deliberately formulate any immigration on a large scale. Our advent as competitors into the world's markets now imminent, and our comparative want of equipment therefor, owing to high cost of production and transport, demand that this question should be taken into serious consideration at an early date, and I would suggest another Commission of Inquiry, which shall be asked for definite suggestions based on comprehensive investigation of all the factors affecting this question in all parts of the sub-Continent.

No one feels the need for closer settlement more than I do, and at as early a date as is practicable, but let us beware of making such serious mistakes as will throw us many years back, and discredit the possibilities of our land. Moderate Protection is a necessity in a newly developing crude country such as ours, but it is an expedient which should be used wisely, avoiding the dangers of unfair political exploitation, and the raising of the cost of the consumers' living to an unduly high level, as well as that of unfitting the producer for the stern world's fight in which he must engage in the near future.

It would take too long to go into the pros and cons of this aspect of the subject in this short paper, and I must content myself with the statement already made that moderate Protection, very carefully and wisely given, must in my opinion be a necessary part of agricultural policy for at least some years to come. I am no great believer in running to the Government in every difficulty, and consider that the improvement of live stock, beyond the facilities now offered by the stud farms, might well be left to private breeders, who are proving themselves most enterprising in this branch of their business. The generous offer of Sir Owen Philipps to carry pedigree stock freight free from Great Britain will stimulate the importation enormously, and our flocks and herds in a few years should range alongside those of the earlier developed Colonies.

INDIVIDUAL POLICY.

While not quite clear if your request was intended to touch on this aspect of the subject, I hold it to be equally as important as the one already touched upon, and will therefore briefly give my views thereon.

The size of farms generally in South Africa is so great, the amount of work done thereon so small, and the conditions so varying, that it is no wonder that the ascertained knowledge of our possibilities is so scanty. The great need of the farmer nowadays is for better methods, and every crop should be a recorded experiment. Compared with older countries, our returns of increase in live stock and average crops are woefully small, and here lies the great field of effort, which will have the double effect of enriching the worker and proving the value of our land to those who are scanning the world in the search for homes for millions who must move from the more congested parts of the earth.

We must make it our constant effort to discover and prove the most suitable products for our farms, and to discard all others, to improve live stock by means of pure bred sires, whether for meat, milk, wool, or bacon. Feeding live stock for market and using crops for the purpose, instead of selling and returning the resulting manures to the soil, will have to be the universal rule, if we are to maintain

the fertility of our soils and profit by the lessons learned in America.

Much can be done by private owners towards closer settlement by leasing or selling portions of their unwieldy farms, which at present are lying idle or only partly used. This is no philanthropic suggestion, for smaller farms and higher cultivation mean increased price of land, which large owners would be the first to profit by, and there are at present many able young fellows who would make their way were the hand of practical help extended to them.

Under the peculiar circumstances of land ownership in South Africa, there is a big opening in the way of voluntarily cutting up large farms for closer settlement and better use, and the man who can evolve a practical scheme would deserve the gratitude of the country, for it would benefit all alike.

Co-operation is another means to agricultural prosperity, and the success of the Agricultural Co-operative Union of Natal (though with many members in the adjoining Provinces) shows what can be attained thereby, and that our farmers see the worth of this essential principle and are ready to profit by it.

I am firmly convinced that South Africa, with all its drawbacks and variations, is as good a country agriculturally as any other, which only needs all, Government and individuals alike, to work together for education, improvement in methods, closer settlement, and co-operation, for us to take a foremost place among the producing countries in the world.

TRADE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Tariff for Revenue.

By W. A. MARTIN (chairman, Association of Chambers of Commerce, of South Africa).

With the exception of the Native Question, there is no matter demanding the attention of Parliament of greater importance to the welfare and prosperity of the Union of South Africa than that of Fiscal Policy. It differs from the native question in that its settlement is a matter of urgency, and it will in all probability be dealt with during the forthcoming session of Parliament. Three possible alternatives present themselves, viz.:

1. The continuance of the present Customs tariff, which is framed partly for revenue and partly for protective purposes.

2. The extension of the protective principle by means of increased duties in the Customs tariff.

3. The adoption of the principle of tariff for revenue.

I omit another alternative, viz., the adoption of the principle of absolute Free Trade, because I do not consider this is practicable under South African conditions.

In the limited space allotted to me I shall endeavour to indicate briefly the advantages or drawbacks respectively of the three lines of policy indicated. The question is of the most vital importance, as upon the principles adopted by the Legislature depend not only the measure of the exploitation and development of the primary industries of South Africa, but also the nature and tendency of the social and industrial relations of all classes of the Commonwealth. Moreover, to my mind, and exceeding all other considerations in importance, is the fact that upon the principles adopted depend largely, if not wholly, the position in the body politic which will ultimately be held by the white race in relation to the native and coloured people.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding, I wish to make it perfectly clear that while I am in favour of the social and industrial advancement of the native and coloured races, and am convinced that whether we like it or not it is inevitable, I approach the consideration of this most important subject and seek to arrive at a solution mainly—if not solely—with a view to secure the predominance politically, industrially, and ultimately numerically, of the European as against the native, coloured, and Asiatic.

The question therefore is, which of the three alternative policies is best calculated to achieve the end in view?

FIRST ALTERNATIVE—THE CONTINUANCE OF THE PRESENT CUSTOMS TARIFF.

It can be confidently stated as an indisputable fact that the incidence of taxation under the present Customs tariff bears much more heavily on the white race than upon the black or coloured. It is further indisputable that in so far as its protective features are concerned, such employment as has been provided by protected industries has been enormously greater for black and coloured workers than for white; indeed, excepting where special skill is required, the acquisition of which demands a lengthy period of apprenticeship or technical training, not at present available for native or coloured workers, it may be broadly asserted that any employment created by means of the protective duties imposed un-

der the existing Customs tariff is practically monopolised by the black and coloured races. I instance sugar, tea, jams, confectionery, harness and saddlery, tanneries, potteries, candles, and matches as cases in point. I assert that, excepting as indicated, the employment afforded by these industries is almost solely to the black and coloured races, and that the white race, being as it is by far the principal consumer of these commodities, bears the greater part of the cost imposed upon the community, either by the amounts collected by the Customs or in the price charged for the locally produced article. If this is the case, —and I submit it can be proved beyond possibility of doubt—it must be obvious that the policy of the present Customs tariff is most detrimental to the white man and seriously handicaps him in his competition with the native and coloured man.

SECOND ALTERNATIVE—THE EXTENSION OF THE PROTECTIVE PRINCIPLE BY MEANS OF INCREASED DUTIES IN THE CUSTOMS TARIFF.

This is, in effect, what is recommended by the majority report of the Commerce and Industries Commission. The increase in duties recommended are generally to the extent of the addition to the present duty of a further ten per cent. ad valorem, although certain specific duties, e.g., those recommended on wheat, flour, oatmeal, doors, common leathers, mineral waters, salt, etc., amount to considerably more than 10 per cent. ad valorem, ranging in fact up to as high as 100 per cent. in some instances. Even if the duties on manufactured goods recommended in the majority report or those asked for by the South African Manufacturers' Association, were granted, I am confident that while they will very greatly increase the cost of living and impose a serious burden on the primary industries, agricultural and mining, they would not enable these industries to compete against similar imported goods, unless by the employment of the cheapest form of labour obtainable, viz., coloured, native, or Asiatic. It is a well-known fact that skilled white labour in Australia and Canada is obtainable at rates of pay little more than one-half of those paid for similar labour in South Africa, and, speaking generally, the protective duties in these countries are higher even than those asked by the South African Manufacturers' Association. Under these circumstances it is surely obvious that if the South African Manufacturer intends to employ white labour in his industry and has to pay so much more for it than do his fellow-manufacturers in the countries I have mentioned, he will require a rate of protective duty even higher than is in force in either Canada or Australia. What he asks for now by way of protection is merely an instalment of what he will demand later on. The truth is, of course, whatever he may profess at the moment, he has no intention of employing any labour other than the cheapest he can obtain to answer his purpose. This in the past has been, and in the future will, increasingly, be coloured, black, or Asiatic. The white people in South Africa had much better realise now rather than later on, that if they agree to any increase in protective duties, the larger part of the cost will be paid by them to provide work for the coloured, native, and Asiatic races.

THIRD ALTERNATIVE—THE ADOPTION OF A TARIFF FOR REVENUE PURPOSES.

To carry on the public services money is necessary, and must be raised in some way. Indirect taxation is supposed to be preferred to direct taxation because it is less perceptible and the taxpayer does not realise the extent to which he is being taxed. Indirect taxation has, however, two very important defects:

1. The taxpayer pays a much larger amount that is received by the Treasury.

2: The tax is easily altogether diverted from the Treasury into the pockets of individuals or sections of the community.

In illustration of No. 1, I would instance the payment by the importing merchant of, say, £1—Customs duty on a given article—obviously the cost of the article is increased by the amount of £1, and to recoup himself for the outlay of this additional expenditure the merchant adds a profit to the additional outlay when he sells the article to the retailer. Supposing the rate of profit is 10 per cent., the price paid to the importer by the retailer would be higher by 22s. than would be the case if there were no duty. The retailer has to sell again, and assuming the gross profit on his cost to enable him to cover his working expenses and leave a reasonable margin for nett profit to be 50 per cent., the additional amount to be paid by the consumer because of the duty becomes 33s., or 13s. more than has been received by the Government. From this simple illustration it will be seen that the Treasury receives only a portion (very often only a small portion) of the amount paid by the taxpayer under the system of indirect taxation.

The second objection is much more serious, as it is possible for the taxpayer to pay enormous sums under the conditions of a Customs tariff, not one penny of which goes into the public Treasury. Take sugar by way of illustration. In 1909 there were

65,000 tons of sugar produced in the Union. The price to the consumer by reason of the Customs duty was increased by at least £3 10s. per ton, or £227,500—not one penny of which went into the public Treasury. Other losses were made by the Treasury in respect of sugar, and it is no exaggeration to say that the sugar industry costs the people of South Africa no less than £500,000 per annum in one way or another. The match industry again, similarly examined, will be found to cost the taxpayers fully £60,000 per annum. The list could be extended and losses shown in connection with other industries which are protected under the Customs tariff.

In the absence of definite statistics it is difficult to arrive at an estimate of what the total amounts to, but it can safely be said that the State loses and the consumer pays for the benefit either of individuals or for that of sections of the community, a sum of not less than £2,000,000 per annum, an amount sufficient to pay interest and redemption on a loan of between 40 and 50 millions sterling! Does anyone claim that the industries enjoying Protection under the present Customs tariff are of benefit to the State to anything approaching the extent that the investment of 40 or 50 millions sterling in irrigation or land settlement would amount to?

I shall, of course, be told that these figures are illusory, that competition between the local manufacturers prevents their taking advantage of the amount of the Customs duty, that the extra cost (if any) to the consumer is fully compensated by the money spent in wages, by the opportunity afforded to our children to earn a respectable livelihood in the local factories, and by the market provided for the products of our farms in supplying the wants of those engaged in the factories.

Space does not permit a full consideration of these objections. I content myself by stating that I believe the figures I have quoted are substantially correct—that experience in other countries proves conclusively that where Protection under a tariff exists, competition amongst local manufacturers ultimately gives place to a Trust which compels the consumer to pay the full amount of the duty for the benefit of the Trust, that the money circulated by way of wages is generally, if not always, less than the amount of the duty, that employment will be given to whites only at the same rate of pay as black or coloured unless for specially skilled work, and that the benefit alleged to be conferred on the farmers by providing consumers for their products will be more than nullified by the increased cost to the farmers of their own requirements. Did space permit these contentions could be proved. I do not wish to deal with this matter from the point of view of theory merely. Let us be severely practical. Is it a fair thing to demand that any industry at present enjoying protection or that wishes to be protected must be able to prove that by the conversion of locally produced to raw materials into finished articles or by providing employment for the people, or in both these ways or in any other way, it fully compensates for the cost to the consumer and the loss to the Treasury? Surely this is the minimum we can accept. If any industry cannot prove its case to this extent, the sooner it goes out of existence the better for the country.

It is all very well to have industries, but they can be established and maintained at too high a price. Somebody has to pay. The sum total of industry is not increased by Protection, it merely diverts labour and capital from one channel into another, and the protected industry succeeds only at the expense of the natural primary industries of the country, agriculture and mining. It is only by the adoption of a policy of tariff for revenue that South Africa will succeed in developing to their fullest extent her primary industries, agriculture and mining, and that she will be able to etsablish a large and virile white population.

South Africa is in the fortunate position of being able to profit by the example of other countries in this important matter. I am aware that the Protectionists quote America, Germany, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand as brilliant examples of the benefits derivable under Protection, and claim that the prosperity of these countries is due to their protective tariffs. If in fact their prosperity is owing to the protective policies practised, how is it that the same results are not evidenced in France, Russia, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, which also enjoy the "blessings" of tariff protection? The truth is that America not only has limitless natural resources, but has also the Free Trade of 90 millions of people within her own boundaries, while during the last 30 years the system of technical and higher education built up in Germany and the thrift and industry inherent in her population are largely responsible for the prosperity of that nation. The Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Dominion of Canada have also vast natural resources, and are peopled by white races almost exclusively. How does South Africa stand in respect of these essentials to success?

With the exception of navigable rivers and indigenous forests, her natural resources are undeniable.

Her technical education is almost non existent.

Thrift and industry are not inherent in her population whether white, coloured, or black.

Her system of labour is based on that of the coloured or black, and excepting in certain skilled trades her white workers are merely supervisors.

Another all important distinction is that, without exception, the countries which are instanced as illustrative of the advantages of a protective policy are self-supporting as far as foodstuffs are concerned, whereas South Africa has still a long way to go before she will be in this position.

There is something attractive about the idea of Protection. Everyone agrees that it would be an admirable thing if instead of importing our clothing, boots and shoes, crockery, furniture, and the thousand and one necessaries and luxuries of life, we could have them made by our own people whose wages would circulate throughout the country, but—and it is a pity there is a but—we cannot afford to pay the price! That there is a price to pay is undoubted, and if it were only represented by a cost in cash it would be bad enough, but the price to be paid includes the handicapping of the white in his competition with the black, and consequently makes the adoption of Protection in so far as South Africa is concerned fatal to the best interests of the country.

A Policy of Protection.

By KARL GUNDELFINGER, Durban.
(Chairman Durban Chamber of Commerce.)

Only a prosperous people can become a great people, and lasting prosperity comes from production only. To foster production is therefore the all-important duty of Government. Many are the means a Government employs to assist the people to develop the resources of their country, and one nearly always employed is what is terms a Customs tariff. A Customs tariff tends to prevent the importation into a country of articles the production of which within the country the Government wishes to foster.

The Government of the Union of South Africa is alive to the important part production plays in the welfare of the nation. The Customs tariff is engaging its attention at present, and the question everyone interested in South Africa is asking is: What should the new tariff be? Should it be based on principles of Free Trade or Protection? To the casual observer it would seem that on this question t people of South Africa are divided into two distinct camps—are in two watertight compartments. Closer examination, however, will show that they are all living in one camp, merely arranged in little groups here and there, and continually intermingling, going and coming, coming and going, as at a garden party. In practical life the most uncompromising Free-Trader clamours for Protection whenever his material interests are in jeopardy, and the most ardent Protectionist clamours for Free Trade whenever he deems it to his advantage, or when he happens to be a disinterested party. The farmer is a Free-Trader in all he has to buy and a Protectionist in all he has to sell; the artisan seeks to abolish all restrictions that tend to increase the cost of his requirements, but through his Labour Union seeks to prevent the employer from employing the cheapest labour; the lawyer and the doctor harangue against combines and trusts whose aim is to regulate and maintain prices, but they would consider it a serious breach of professional etiquette if one of their colleagues were to advertise his services at less than the customary fee; the white storekeeper demands absolute freedom and liberty to trade anywhere in South Africa, but will not grant the same freedom to the native or Indian storekeeper; and so on ad infinitum.

Every Protectionist is at heart a Free-Trader. This seems a paradox, but it is nevertheless true. Free Trade is an ideal, Protection is an exigency. Free Trade is the goal every thinking man must strive for; it is synonymous with liberty, and the basis of liberty, as of Free Trade, is strength, power, and virility. In my endeavours to understand somewhat the laws that govern the universe, it is brought home to me more and more that one universal set of laws is the basis of all that is and of all that will be; that animal, plant, and mineral life is impelled by the same instincts, the difference being one of degree only; that the waters on the earth, the air around the earth, the earth itself, the sun and all the planetary world are the result of and are subject to the same set of laws; and that the impulses and inter-actions of man and man, or man and animal, are merely a replica of the doings and happenings amongst all the other atoms that go to make up the universe, and that all the forces that move the world, mental and physical, work on identical lines. It is this belief, I nearly said conviction, which leads me to think that the same impulses that cause the mother to nurture her child move the

State to nurture the infant industries of the country. The child develops under the fostering care of the parent, and nascent industries develop under the fostering care of the State.

The cotton industry of England furnishes probably the best example of this process of development. For over a century, ere Free Trade was established in England, its cotton industry was highly protected. To-day cotton is England's greatest industry, and though not a bale of the raw material is grown in the country itself, England manufactured and exported during the year 1910 no less than 106 million pounds worth of cotton goods. England is cited to-day as a Free Trade country, but one may well ask whether the English manufacturer really enjoys no sort of Protection. A closer study of the position will show that whilst the Customs tariff of his own country does not afford him Protection, the tariffs of the principal British Dominions do. South Africa imposes generally a lower Customs duty on goods produced in England than on goods produced in foreign countries. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand grant similar privileges to the British manufacturers. In other words, South Africa, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand protect the British manufacturer against his German, French, or American competitor. Apart from the foregoing, the English manufacturer enjoys one potent form of protection which, whilst it cannot be found on any statute-book, is probably of greater assistance to him than a Customs duty. That factor is "British sentiment." The old saying "trade follows the flag" has never applied more aptly than to the Union Jack, and the Union Jack is a flag of vast expanse. The term "English make" has a charm for the Britisher which blinds him to the qualities of all other makes. Only a few months ago the Corporation of a large provincial town in England, by the vote of a majority of its councillors, placed a contract for £16,000 worth of tramway rails with a British manufacturer, although the tender of a reputable Continental manufacturer was over £2,000 less, the reasons advanced being that the money should be kept in the country, and that in any case the foreign-made rails were not likely to be as good as the English.

Every country has its own peculiar conditions and circumstances, and adjusts its fiscal policy accordingly. Neither a policy of Free Trade nor a policy of Protection could in itself be a cause of good or bad trade. These policies must be considered in conjunction with prevailing conditions. Free-trade England is experiencing at present an unprecedented wave of industrial prosperity, but so is Protectionist Germany.

It is now generally admitted that the fiscal policy of South Africa should extend a certain measure of protection to the producer. The difficulty is to arrive at just that degree of protection that will suffice for the needs of the producers without unduly burdening the public. It would seem to me that too much is made of that difficulty. We have the experience of the existing tariff, which is usually termed one of "Moderate Protection," and under which most of our existing industries have been built up. That tariff now requires revision, so as to adjust it to to-day's conditions.

The most businesslike way, to my mind, to effect this revision is for Government to ask those demanding protective duties to produce documentary evidence, showing that without such help the industry in question could not expand, or would have to succumb. As an example, I will cite the sugar industry. Under prevailing conditions the present tariff is not considered sufficiently high by the representatives of the industry. I have before me the evidence they submitted to the Commerce and Industries Commission, which undoubtedly proves that the sugar industry has been of great benefit to Natal and South Africa, and that it is worthy of Government's favourable consideration. I do not, however, see in the evidence any definite statement showing the actual cost of production, or any indication of the actual profits or losses made by those engaged in the production of sugar. It seems to me a matter of course that if I ask anyone to interest himself financially in my business I should submit a statement of the business, a profit and loss account, or a balance-sheet, for his inspection. This I maintain is the correct attitude for Government to take up, not only as regards the sugar industry, but generally.

It is anticipated that Government will submit a new tariff during the next session of Parliament, framed on the basis of, but not necessarily in full conformity with, the report of the Customs and Industries Commission. I opine that the data contained in that report are insufficient and inconclusive. I therefore venture to throw out the suggestion that the framing of a new tariff be deferred, that Government appoint a Board of Customs Commissioners to investigate by confidential documentary evidence the claims of the various industries, and that such Board, on the basis of this documentary evidence, and of the general

evidence taken by the Commerce and Industries Commission, frame a new tariff for the consideration of Government and Parliament.

The Government of the Union of South Africa has to decide on a fiscal policy. It is not a question of choosing between out and out Free Trade and extreme Protection, or between Fair Trade and moderate Protection, but of evolving a policy that is a blend of all of them to suit the conditions, requirements, ambitions, and ideals of the young South African nation.

THE NECESSITY FOR MAINTAINING EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION OVERSEAS.

By FRANCIS HARRISON, F.R.G.S.
(Ex-Govt. Trade Commissioner, Natal.)

This is particulaly the case in regard to Trade and Commercial questions.

What are the duties of a Trade Commissioner? it may be asked. The late South African State Governments, in their sublime belief in the unaided evolution of things, never defined them. For the information of existing and future Colonial Trade representatives, I venture to recite what I conceived them to be:—

1. Reporting on the exact requirements of the Home and Continental markets, so that the produce may in all respects comply with what is wanted.

2. Keeping the Corresponding Department in South Africa informed as to the state of the markets and ruling prices of various products—involving a close study of trade papers and constant personal touch with markets.

3. Inspecting on arrival, and reporting upon the character and condition of produce, especially those commodities in the initial stages of expropriation, bringing to light all defects and advising where necessary the better methods to employ.

4. Negotiating the best terms for handling produce, testing the results of sales through different channels. Reducing the multiplicity of expenses; keeping a strict watch on sales effected, and rendering prompt accounts for the produce shipped through Government agency.

5. Arranging the best means of distribution of produce, with a view to securing good prices by not concentrating all in one centre.

6. Placing grower, merchant and manufacturer in South Africa in touch with consumer and business houses at Home and vice versa.

7. Maintaining amicable relations with "the trade" to the benefit of the exporter, and acting as the channel of communication on commercial matters between the Government and "the trade."

8. Introducing to the wholesale trade and the public new articles of consumption and use.

9. Obtaining expert reports and valuations on specimens of Colonial manufacture and growth and minerals; also opinions from receivers of exports where improvements may be made in shipping arrangements, quality of article, style of packing or supply.

10. Furnishing full particulars as to articles and commodities for which there is a large demand in the Home and Continental markets, and which can be produced in South Africa. Advising the methods of packing and shipping.

11. Keeping records and compiling lists in connection with the foregoing; also of produce arrivals each week, thus enabling reliable statistics to be at hand for reports and future reference, and chiefly in order to carry out No. 3.

12. Maintaining touch with manufacturers and suppliers of agricultural and other machinery and contrivances; inspecting and furnishing full information of any new or improved machinery.

13. Attending agricultural, horticultural, dairy, cattle, mining, leather, food, Colonial produce, or any other shows and exhibitions, and reporting on any special features of interest.

14. Visiting the important produce and manufacturing centres in England and the Continent with the object of reporting on trade possibilities and the opening up of markets and maintaining the friendly relations already established.

15. Submitting to the proper Departments on this side books and periodicals dealing with the latest developments in agricultural science and the methods of cultivation, manufacture, etc., adopted by other and older countries.

16. Advertising in the London and provincial Press any items of importance as affecting the efforts to establish Colonial produce on the Home markets.

17. Contributing special articles to principal trade and other journals relating to agricultural and industrial progress, and the advantages offered by our harbours and railways.

18. Answering inquiries relative to the State as a field for investment of capital in agricultural, manufacturing, and other industries, and affording personal interviews in regard thereto.

19. General publicity matters. Also freely circulating agricultural literature, handbooks, pamphlets, etc.

20. Organising and controlling lecture campaigns during the lecture season, educating the public in what is and can be produced, and the opportunities as a field for the investment of capital.

21. Quoting railway rates and fares, also Customs duties, advising as to special conditions and restrictions, distributing rate books, time tables, circulars, Customs tariffs, etc., etc.

In the pursuance of his calling, however, a Trade Commissioner will be wise not to interfere with, or divert trade from, established business channels. And he will not idly discount the opinions and practices of that big army of agents and other representatives of South African firms who, for several generations, have, by energetic and experienced service, contributed their quota to the laying of the foundations and the erecting of the edifice of trade between the sub-Continent and the European markets.

The catalogue of duties given above, in order to be properly and conscientiously carried out, require a fully experienced and and ample staff.

Under Union, I am bound to say that the arrangements, and the personnel, are totally inadequate. From, may I say, an intimate knowledge of the work of the office in London, I cannot honestly declare that the Trade Department is fulfilling the functions, or rendering that service to the country for which it was established. It is not the fault of the Commissioner. It is the "system." Let me quote your own remarks. They appeared in a leader but a few months ago: —"A Trade Commissioner with a couple (or three) clerks shut up in a small office in Cannon Street is not what we expect and not what we should have if we had an up-to-date and live Department of Commerce and Industries. Rhodesia is represented commercially in London by a place in the Strand, which is an object-lesson to every passer-by of what that country is capable of producing; and for every visitor or prospective immigrant seeking information at the Union Office in Cannon Street, we have no doubt there will be a score inquiring as to the chances of settlement in Rhodesia."

The conclusion is a right one. But the Department of Commerce and Industries is not even a corpse. It has been cremated. Its ashes are buried, and the canister is not inscribed "Resurgam."

Let us return to London. What is the root error? Hasty over-centralisation. What is the remedy? Separate Provincial representation.

What with a complex assortment of Departments and officials over-lapping one another, and unwieldy in the extreme, a multitude of varying requirements, men handling matters outside their particular province, and beyond, their circumscribed knowledge, what can be accomplished that is really effective and sufficient? The seasons, the cultivations, the exports, the suitability of places for particular industries, the expectations, the traditions, the Colonists themselves differ in no small degree in every State, and no one man as Commissioner for the whole of the Union, not even the Archangel Gabriel himself, can possibly satisfy the wishes and requirements of the individual Provinces.

The exports from each State are growing in variety and volume. They will continue to grow. At least, we anticipate they will. In what ratio no one can tell, and it would be dangerous even to hazard a speculative opinion. But this is another story.

What we are concerned with at the moment is this: Each State of the Union should have its own Commercial and Exhibitional Office, or "shop," with its own man in charge. It is absolutely essential. (I make this declaration with no motive—I am not seeking a renewal of officialdom). It should have, and display prominently to the public gaze, its own products, samples, literature. It should be replete with every item of information and all up-to-date statistics. It should be a Trade Office, a Show-room, and an Intelligence Bureau rolled into one.

The idea of Union need not be destroyed. When the amalgamation of the Provinces was being consummated, and long after, there was a vacant plot of land in the Strand. An admirable site—curving round from Aldwych into the famous thoroughfare, with Fleet Street in front. There was nothing better had you searched the Metropolis. What an opportunity for the raising of a noble pile of buildings to be the heart of the Dominion in the Capital of the Empire, of which it is, and, if we are only true to ourselves, will remain, an estimable and stalwart part. Such a building would reflect credit upon the Union, symbolise its consolidation, and be an abiding monument to its greatness.

I had the temerity to draw attention to the possibilities of the site. Am afraid I was a little too rapid. I had overlooked the fact that the official mind is of the quality of the tortoise. But to the sequel. Another Dominion stepped in, captured the site, and is to erect palatial premises instead.

We shall have to go to the Strand, or somewhere in the vicinity, sooner or later. The dignified and altogether peaceful precincts of Westminster have served their purpose and had their day.

With such a building as that suggested, the rest is simple. Each State would be allotted a "shop," in charge of its own representative—a Provincial, not a Union, official. All the "shops" would be intercommunicable. These, of course, would all have access from the pavement. Over the "shops" would be placed the administrative offices, the stores and the engineering departments under the control of the High Commissioner.

A lecture hall, writing and reception rooms, library and reading-rooms, it would also be advisable to provide. The South African shipping companies and tourist agencies would doubtless like to have the opportunity of establishing branches in such a building. Everything complete—everything concentrated—yet each State of the Union with a "shop"—and a name—and an individuality. It is the individuality that counts. If this were recognised there would be less likelihood of Union begetting discord.

Such an organisation in London is required: it is bound to come. Another point, the ordinary visitor from this country wants to feel that he is not an outcast. South Africans at Home should have some centrally-situated Government building where they could go to freely, comfortably, without the nauseating spasm of an uninvited and unwelcome guest. Somewhere where they can consult South African affairs, get advice on any matters of doubt or difficulty, and, in a word, feel at home. Under such a scheme of an adequate and worthy replica of South Africa in London, there would still require to be a High Commissioner, but it may be thought that such an arrangement would obviate the necessity for a Trade Commissioner of the Union. Undoubtedly; and the Provinces would unquestionably secure much more effective representation than one man for the whole, however able, can supply.

The High Commissioner could still appoint to his staff an officer to carry out the duties of an office in which would be focussed such trade matters as affect the Union per se, and deal with such subjects as are purely Union matters. The High Commissioner, as a business man, should be able to direct the affairs of that office in the same way as the Finance, Stores, and Engineering Departments.

This impinges on the nature and scope of the qualifications required by a High Commissioner, whether of our own or any other Dominion. The wealth and progress of a nation are dependent, not so much upon political persuasiveness or the favours of Princes and Ministers of State, as upon industry and trade. The days of usefulness and influence are rapidly drawing to a close: the occupant of this exalted post will in future be a man of outstanding business ability and training, and one possessing an unyielding appreciation of the essentials making for a country's industrial expansion and trade development.

To procure the utmost effective Trade Representation overseas, the ramifications of the Government organisation should be extended beyond the capital of the Empire.

When the time is ripe, and our exports vastly develop, as in some quarters it is believed they will do without additional population (eminently absurd, but for the moment let it pass), then it should be the duty of the Government to appoint agents at every direct port of call, and in the centres where the bulk of our produce is marketed both on the Continent and in Great Britain. They would require to be furnished with every possible information and statistical data concerning every portion of South Africa.

We cannot be blind to the fact that the credit of South Africa does not stand high in investing circles at Home. As I have recently had it put to me—I quote the words out of the mouth of the principal of a financing house in London—"propositions from South Africa are divided into two classes—the 'deep' and the 'dubious.'" This is unfortunately the feeling at Home. Is it not lamentable? All the interviews with great and little men on the return to London after rushing through this country and seeing the lion kneeling at the feet of the lamb, do not suffice to remove that deeply-rooted suspicion in the minds of a public ever eager for safe and solid investments, that all is yet not well with this land of a lurid past

To them it is still a country to be shy of—a domain only fitted for wars and rumours of wars, native rebels and other political fanatics, a country producing only gold, diamonds, feathers, and questionable millionaires. There is so little done to enlighten them otherwise. There is need, great need, crying need, for more good-productive representation overseas, which can only come about by having separate Provincial activity and responsibility. The existing organisation is cumbrous, extravagant, non-effective.

I repeat it is not so much the fault of the High Commissioner or his Trade Commissioner as of the "system." But who is there that will alter it?

PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

By F. A. LAUGHTON, K.C. (Member of the Provincial Council of Natal.)

For weal or for woe, in the year 1910 the Colonies of South Africa brought themselves under one Government. There were many heartburnings, many misgivings, and many a bitter tear, as I well know, when, impetuously casting aside the old order of things so endeared to us in our separate Colonies, we decided on Union. I do not stop to describe the immensity of the task which we then undertook or the nature of it, but I think I should hurt no one's feelings if I say our difficulties were increased by the fact that we had few, if any, public men who could be regarded as statesmen, and of our capable legislators, few were able to undertake legislative duties at far-away Capetown. Suffice it to say we undertook the task, and having done so, it became our duty and our pride to carry it out to the best of our ability, for the good of this great country of ours and for the good of the Empire.

The subject I have to discuss is the usefulness or otherwise of our Provincial Councils, but before doing so let us glance at the form of government adopted in other Dominions of the Empire. I presume there are few who will not recognise the great ability of legislators in Canada, they adopted the Federal form of government: Australia the same. Our Mother Country, on the other hand, in the long ago, adopted the Union form of government, with the result that for years past there has been a growing feeling that the interests of the country as a whole can best be attained by empowering local bodies to deal with purely local affairs.

It is thus recognised by statesmen, whose opinions we cannot but respect, that the interests of a country as a whole are best attended to if local matters are dealt with by local bodies. Are we justified in disregarding such opinions? Is there anything peculiar in our position which renders the principle inapplicable? Our country is immence, local interests are diversified; to make the Union a real success each and every part of the country must be made to produce its best results; surely the help, ungrudgingly given, of men in each Province should be a great asset to the country, and should not be lightly cast aside. In a business carried on with branches over the country, powers are given to the branches, subject to the control of the head office. The town of Durban manages its own affairs through a municipal body empowered to make by-laws. Where would Durban now be if her affairs had been conducted by Government? It will no doubt be conceded that, as regards municipalities, there must be local government, but, if so, surely the principle may be extended, with the same good results, to larger areas. The reason for the adoption of the principle is that the Government must of necessity have so much on its hands, in conducting the general affairs of a country, that it cannot give proper attention to details important to different localities.

I have seen disappointment expressed by members of Parliament at present results of Provincial Councils, and in consequence they have expressed a hope that they be abolished. If disappointing results, without further inquiry, is a good ground for abolishing institutions, then few could maintain that there are not good grounds for abolishing the Union Parliament. We do not smash everything which does not come up to our expectations. Are we to pull up the rose tree because the blossoms have failed, or are we not to dig at the roots to ascertain the cause of the failure?

I am a member of a Provincial Council, and I, too, can express disappointment as to results, but I attribute such results entirely to its great powers for usefulness being disregarded and ignored by the Union Parliament and the Government. The body of men constituting the Provincial Council for Natal is one to which anyone might well be proud to belong, and it has but one desire, to work for the good of the country. It has, however, never in any matter whatever been consulted by the Government, insufficient work is placed before it, and it is allowed to go its own weary, weary way. We have had to adjourn again and again to await the arrival of the Estimates from the Government, and when at last they have arrived we have been bound to deal with them under the Government's allotted four heads of expenditure.

Under the Act of Union much work might be allotted to us because, in addition to roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, etc., the Act provides that "agriculture, to the extent and subject to the conditions to be defined by Parliament," may be delegated to us; but nothing has been so delegated. The Act further provides that there may be a further delegation of "all other subjects in respect of which Parliament shall by any law delegate the power of making ordinances to the Provincial councils," no powers have been so delegated to us.

After having attended two sessions of the Natal Provincial Council, I have feelings of bitter disappointment, not because I realise that the Councils are useless, but because I feel that our powers for usefulness have been ignored.

The resources of this country I believe to be unbounded. Take agriculture and industries alone, the brains of every man having legislative duties to perform should be made available for their development; then would the country begin to fill its proper place; then would we cease to import potatoes from France, as we are doing at this moment; then would we cease to import every article of clothing we wear and every pot we use.

To my mind Parliament is more on its trial than the Provincial Councils, and I do not say this offensively, for its task is indeed a great one. Are we not satisfied that it is unfitted to cope with the multifarious business transactions of this country; if so, what is the remedy? Is it to abolish the Provincial Councils, or is it not to link one with the other and each with Parliament in one sympathetic union? Thus would be formed a mighty force capable of pulling our country out of the mud, in which she has stuck for many and many a long year, and of placing it in that position of prosperity which we all know she ought to occupy.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

By JOHN BROWN, M.D., Cape Province (author of "The Transferable Vote in Municipal Elections").

Sixty years ago London had hardly recovered from the fright caused by a proposed march to the Houses of Parliament of the Chartists, to present a monster petition for six proposed electoral reforms.

These were: Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Abolition of the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament, Payment of Members, and Equal Electoral Areas.

Now, as then, election to a seat in the Mother of Parliaments is by the single vote and a relative majority; that is, by the member obtaining one more vote than the highest unsuccessful candidate.

The hustings are gone. Party organisations are much more powerful and much more wealthy now, when the party Whip, through the caucus or local party organisation, practically imposes the candidate he selects on the constituency in many cases. He provides to the local funds, when necessary, contributions from the general party fund, to which, among others, men anxious to become members of Parliament liberally contribute. Soon after Cecil Rhodes contributed £10,000, through Mr. Parnell, to the Irish Party's funds, a very excellent candidate nominated by him was elected to an Irish seat.

For the services of the Whip, the member, by a tacit understanding, votes and even speaks in Parliament on party lines.

Bribery in its old open form is more difficult, and very, very much less frequent, but there are said to be constituencies, even in London, where, unless a candidate spends from £1,500 to £2,000 a year for some time before a general election, his ambition will prove hopeless. ("Proportional Representation," page 49.) This is called "nursing" a constituency; in the case of counties still higher sums are named, so anxious are some men to serve their country in Parliament. Excessive canvassing for weeks before an actual election makes very great calls on the time, the tact, the temper, and the patience, to say nothing of the purse and self-respect, of the would-be member.

Till nearly 60 years ago there had been only two political parties—the Whigs and Tories, names known no more. Our two main parties now are the Liberals and Unionists, but the Irish Party and the Labour Party are to be reckoned with, and successive extensions of the franchise have placed the power of deciding which of two candidates shall secure election in the hands of the Labour voters, those, namely, in receipt of weekly wages, in very many constituencies where they cannot return a Labour member.

The ballot and payment of members are now universal; other three of the Chartists' proposals have been granted for the elections for Colonial Parliaments, and your own experience of the results of municipal elections in each of the last four years in the Point Ward at Durban show the benefits to be expected from annual elections, in the way of substituting interest for apathy among the electors. The votes given from 1909 onwards respectively were 191, 256, 333, and 425, being 35, 47, 61, and 78 per cent. of the present voters' roll, which is not a new one. The last is probably a record percentage at a municipal election in the Union of South Africa.

Adult suffrage holds its own in New Zealand and Australia, and adult male European suffrage was given, unasked, to the Free State and the Transvaal Provinces.

With all these reforms the results are far from satisfactory.

The report of the Royal Commission (Cd. 5,163, 1910) says of the last seven Parliamenary elections from 1885 to 1910: "Only in one case, the election of 1892, can the actual results be said to represent approximately the balance of voting power possessed by the two parties."

The trouble, worry, and expenses incident to elections limit the number of candidates usually to two. In these cases, in a very close contest, nearly half the voters fail to get representation by the member they desired, and nearly half the votes are wasted votes, so far as electing any member is concerned.

Where the member secures a large majority more voters get representation, but very many more than half the votes are wasted non-effective votes so far as election goes. At the last election for the Central Division of Capetown, the two candidates got 296 and 1,695 votes respectively; 297 votes elected the member, and 1,694, 83 per cent. of the votes given, were wasted so far as election was concerned.

When there are three or more candidates for one seat the same results follow. At the last election at Gwelo, in Southern Rhodesia, 117 votes out of 686 were effective in electing one of four candidates. Here 83 per cent. of the votes were non-effective for election purposes. In such cases, not infrequently a minority of the voters elect the member and secure the representative they desire.

To obviate these drawbacks many other plans of voting have been tried: The Block vote, where the voter has one vote for every member, but can only give one vote to each; a variety of this, the Cumulative vote, where he distributes his votes as he chooses; the Limited vote, where he has fewer votes than there are members to be elected, but can only give one vote to each; and the Continental plan of combining the Block vote with the List system; but the results have not been satisfactory.

The system of Proportional Representation secures to every section of the voters a share of the representatives in the proportion of the number of votes each section gives; thus the majority of the voters get the majority of the members, just in proportion to the votes they give; so does the minority, and any sufficient section of the voters. Fifty-eight years ago this system was introduced in Denmark for the last stage in the election of the Senate. Naturally it is still used, and has been extended. A few years after it was advocated in England by Hare and John Stuart Mill. In recent years it has been adopted in Belgium, Switzerland, South Germany, Finland, Tasmania, and South Africa. This year the French Chamber of Deputies have passed it for France, and the Imperial Government have proposed it for the Upper House in Ireland, and the Opposition desired it for both Houses there.

It requires large electoral areas, as three members are the fewest that can be elected under it, and more are better. This does away with the modern evil of "nursing" the electorates, and diminishes the excessive use of canvassing, and gives a greater choice of better members, well known men, and goes some way towards encouraging independent candidates.

The best results are got by the English method, the single transferable vote. With this the change for the voter is very simple—in place of marking crosses opposite the names of the candidates he votes for, he has but one vote, and by the use of the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., in the order of his preference opposite the names of the candidates he prefers, he enables the returning officer to carry out his wishes and directions. Each vote must be used, if it is possible, for the candidate marked 1, and only when this is impossible can it be tried for the one marked 2; if he too cannot use it, it is tried for the next choice, and so on. Thus every vote that can be used is used for the election of that available member who is marked highest on the voting paper, the only unavailable members being those already elected by other voters' higher choices. The least discerning voter, who marks one more than the number of the necessarily unsuccessful candidates, makes sure of a representative of his choice, and the intelligent voters give early choices for more than one member.

To secure proportional representation, each member must represent an equal section of the voters, and the second change required is that the returning officer shall find out what that section is. If three members are to be elected, we readily see that if each gets one more than one-fourth of the votes, the remainder left over will be too small to elect a fourth member. Hence to find this equal section or "quota" the rule is, divide the number of valid votes by one more than the number of members to be elected, and add one.

The next duty of the returning officer is to distribute or transfer any number of votes that a candidate gets above the quota to the candidate marked second on each of his voting papers. This is best done by retaining for the surplus holder that share of each of his votes which will give him the value of the quota, and passing on to No. 2 on each voter's paper the remainder or unused portion. If a man

needs to get 13, and gets 26 votes, the share thus transferred would be one-half of each vote.

Having dealt with all the surpluses in this way, he next transfers all voting papers of the unsuccessful candidates to the man marked second on each of these voting papers; and so, by repeating this process whenever required, he makes use of every vote. Hence if in electing three members from six candidates by 50 or 100 voters, each voter marks four choices, he will infallibly secure representation, every vote that can be counted for the election of the three members is counted, and secures the election of the available member marked highest on it; and each member is elected by and represents a quota of voters. By taking a small number of voters as stated above, an experimental or trial election can easily be carried out, and the reader be able to test the working of the system for himself. In this way, with adult suffrage, we attain Burke's grand ideal, "The virtue, the spirit, the essence of the House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the nation."

The bibliography of the subject of electoral reform is now fairly extensive, one of the first publications being "The Representation of Minorities of Electors to act with the Majority in Elected Assemblies," by Thomas Gilpin, issued in 1844, at Philadelphia, and believed to be the first publication on the subject of proportional representation in any language. The best-known of all early publications, however, was Thomas Hare's "Machinery of Representation," published in London in 1857. John Stuart Mill dealt with it very extensively in his "Considerations on Representative Government," and strongly advocated the adoption of the Hare system. In 1872 Senator Buckalew, of the United States Congress, published at Philadelphia a volume entitled "Proportional Representation," based on the Report of a Senate Committee which reported in favour of the cumulative vote in the "reconstruction" of the Southern States. In 1880 Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury, president of the English Proportional Representation Society) published a book entitled "Representation," in which he advocated the single transferable vote. Other volumes have been issued in France, Switzerland, Belgium, and other countries; one of the most recent and the best, published in America, is "Proportional Representation," by John R. Commons, professor of sociology in Syracuse University, but the latest, most comprehensive, and altogether the finest treatise on the subject, is "Proportional Representation: A Study in Methods of Election," by John H. Humphreys, hon. secretary of the English Proportional Representation Society. The book, which has been issued at a popular price by Methuen & Co., the London publishing house, deals with the whole subject in the most lucid and instructive manner. In addition to a fairly extensive bibliography, the principles of proportional representation are advocated in various countries by such bodies as that having its headquarters in London, and there is no doubt that during the past few years the propaganda has made itself felt, and in South Africa it is now becoming fairly well understood and accepted as the finest and most democratic of all known methods of election.

WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT

In South Africa.

By MISS MARGARET MURCHIE, B.A.

"Civis Romanus Sum." This was the proud boast of the Roman of ancient days, and justified indeed was he in rejoicing at the thought that he was one of the units that had helped to form the great Roman Empire. Proud, too, should every citizen here in South Africa be of the fact that he is one of the instruments whereby the Union of South Africa is to be built up and its power increased—proud that he, its citizen, can help to draw closer the cords of union and form into one mighty whole its various provinces.

At present, however, it is only the male population of this sub-Continent who are privileged to own the title of "citizen." The women are denied this right, this right of such inestimable value. They, too, would like to count themselves "citizens" of the land of their adoption or of their birth, but old traditions and old customs are hard to overcome. For centuries upon centuries woman has been accounted useless as a "citizen." In the past, it is true, she was probably unfitted for the position, for her life was so narrow and her education so imperfect that her outlook must necessarily have been limited and circumscribed, but with the march of time woman has evolved. To-day woman can hold her own in any sphere of life. Her education has broadened her views and strengthened her brain. To-day, too, woman helps to

maintain the State. She goes out into the world to earn her own living, and the State does not hesitate to tax her property and her income. It will not, however, allow her to record her vote, and thus have some right to express her views as to the spending of that which she has helped to provide.

If there were any real reason why woman should be debarred from serving her country, she would be the first to stand aside. Has the State any right to refuse to use what would be of so much value to it—the woman's outlook? Man and woman are each differently constituted. Man's brain has an organising faculty well developed, woman's an administrative. Man can plan, but often fails to accomplish because he overlooks details—woman, with her never-failing patience, will carefully follow out the little threads that need to be used. Never was anything truer than Tennyson's utterance. "Woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse." And it is just this difference of the types of male and female minds that would be so useful in the political arena. A country whose laws were made wholly by women would suffer just as much as the country whose laws had been made by men. It is the partnership that is required, the fair equality of rights for the two sexes, and only when that condition is arrived at can we hope to have our laws well made, our finances well handled, and our country prosperous.

In South Africa the women are asking for the vote "on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men," which, at present, in the Cape Province, where the coloured man has a vote, entails a property qualification so that it will not mean an overwhelming majority of voters of the coloured races, as might be the case if adult suffrage were the objective. In fact, statistics show that the proportion of white voters to black would be greater by granting women the franchise.

In the Cape Province the coloured man has the vote if he has the property qualification, and the educational test required consists merely of the signing of his name, which accomplishment is often attained through the help of the candidate who is seeking admission to the House of Assembly. Can any just-minded person uphold a state of affairs where an ignorant coloured man has a voice in the government of his country, and the educated white woman is debarred from this privilege? Truly a strange anomaly! And one that it behoves the "citizens" of the Union to remove quickly.

One of the strongest arguments in favour of party administration is that the points brought out by both partisans and opponents of any particular measure ensures the subject being well ventilated, and where the two different parties agree, valuable suggestions will be received from both sides most probably. When man and woman both have the right of franchise the gain to polities will be immense. Their different points of view must throw greater light on whatever is under discussion. Let us turn particularly to South Africa. If man and woman had been in partnership in helping the State, would the laws be such as they are? Think of this. A woman, according to the Roman-Dutch law, is not the natural guardian of her child! If the husband chooses to appoint some other person than his wife—the mother of his children—to succeed to his position as guardian, the mother is helpless. She must never run counter to the wishes of the guardian with regard to the upbringing of her children. The sacred duty of a mother may be thus outraged. Now look at the marriage laws here in South Africa. Both woman and man are equally affected. Both, therefore, should share in their formation, with the result that the law would be equal for both citizens. If a woman and a man are married in "community of goods," the wife cannot enter into a business or bank her money without her husband's consent, irrespective of what his character may be. Even her own money falls under the same law. The husband is not thus restricted. He can do as he likes, without consulting his wife, although half of all the goods is hers. A man-made law, which needs now a woman's point of view to have it altered. Do not the laws for children need a woman's insight to make them such as they should be? If the women of South Africa had the vote, would they not stand by the men and exert every power they had to prevent, for instance, the spread of miners' phthisis, for it is they—the women, the widows, left to bring up their families—that bear the heavy burden caused by the death of the bread-winner. In many other similar questions the woman's power as a "citizen" would be of immense value.

Always would she think of the effect of a law on the man's welfare, as well as the woman's, because her sons would enjoy its benefits. And woman would work side by side with man, as it was intended she should.

It may be argued that with the granting of the franchise to the white woman the coloured woman in those provinces

where the coloured person is allowed to vote would also get the franchise, and that this would be bad for the country. But the coloured women voters at present would be so few that they would be a negligible quantity. And we must realise the fact that the coloured races must be civilised. That is the only hope of the solution of the great native question, and with the development of the native must necessarily come their share in the government of their country. Then, again, we must not forget the fact that the coloured woman servant, being brought into closer contact with the mistress than the coloured man with his master, is consequently more likely to be the more enlightened of the two. And it is only when the women have the right to help in the government of South Africa that we shall obtain a solution of the greatest question of the day—the native question. For instance, the matter of the employment of native women servants in the home, and the freeing of the men for the land, mines, etc., is a work that to be brought to a successful issue requires the co-operation of the feminine and masculine minds. The experiences of the older lands we would fain avoid in this new land, and if the economic conditions of woman's labour are to be such as to be fair and just, we must have women voters in this sub-Continent who will have the power to insist that laws are made to protect the female wage-earners. So long as women's work is underpaid, so long will she oust man in many spheres. Equal remuneration for equal work is the only fair basis for competition.

It has undoubtedly been proved in New Zealand and Australia that the legislation in such matters as liquor traffic has been such as to greatly lessen its evil. And the curse of drink is one that must be fought if we wish to preserve the power of the Empire on which the sun never sets. Who is so competent to deal with educational matters as the woman, whose mother instinct will inspire her to suggest the best possible conditions? Look at it how you will, from the point of view of justice or of expediency, woman should be allowed to help her country. The women of South Africa are fighting to secure their rights. Durban, "the model borough," has the honour of having formed the pioneer league for the enfranchisement of women, in 1905. Numerous other towns have followed her example.

Who indeed is so fitted to inspire her sons with a noble ideal of their duty to their country as the mother, whose knowledge of the political questions of the day and the needs of her country has been gained by the exercise of her duty as "citizen."

May the day soon dawn in this beautiful land when woman will share with man the glorious privilege of using her faculties for the land in which she dwells.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(By W. P. M. HENDERSON, Joint Editor "Municipal Year Book of South Africa.")

In no other branch of legislation in South Africa is greater diversity to be found than in the Municipal government of the four Provinces. Each Province possesses its own main law, supplemented by scores of amending and special enactments. The qualifications of burgesses vary in each Province, the systems of rating are different, and in such vital matters as public health and sanitation no uniformity exists. More important still, the principles of financial administration either have not been defined at all, or are so nebulous that it is possible for each Municipality to change its financial methods from year to year at the dictation of its Councillors, thus making it impossible to secure that continuity of policy which is so essential where large financial interests are involved. When it is realised that the Municipal debt of South Africa amounts to no less than £20,000,000—the greater bulk of which has been obtained from British investors—it will be apparent that, in the interests of those who are responsible for the repayment of that debt, no less than in the interests of their creditors, it is imperative that the financial obligations of Municipalities in South Africa should be placed upon a uniformly sound basis, in order to secure more direct Government supervision over those funds and the provision of sinking funds for the repayment of loans upon maturity.

Under the Act of Union, the control of Municipal legislation was vested in the Provincial Councils, but with the reservation that such legislation should be under the direction of the Union Government. In view of the fact that all domestic legislation comes within the sphere of Municipal work, it was imperative that for the first few years of Union the Municipal Laws previously in force should continue in operation, and that facilities should be given to Municipalities to obtain further powers as from time to time required through their own Provincial Councils. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to secure as members of the Provincial Councils gentlemen possessing such wide experience of legislation as

those who were formerly responsible for the government of the several Colonies. The general well-being of the community demands that matters of such grave import as Municipal government should not be allowed to remain in the hands of inexperienced legislators, but that a comprehensive Municipal Act to govern all Municipalities in South Africa should be drafted at an early date by the Union Government. Such an Act should define the main principles of Municipal activities and obligations. There are in South Africa to-day minor Municipalities where the rudimentary requirements of sanitation are disregarded—where the water supply consists of open roadside furrows available alike for man and beast. The first duty of the State is to secure that wherever a number of its citizens are congregated they should be provided with the means of living healthy and moral lives. It should not be permissible for townships to come into existence and continue without any local control simply because the residents are averse to assuming the responsibilities—financial and personal—attaching to even the more simple forms of local government.

The Municipal Act of South Africa should be framed on progressive lines, under which the "dorp" and the large city would each be compelled, in the first place, to provide those facilities for healthy living which are indispensable. As the small villages increase in size and wealth they should be compelled to provide those amenities which the advance of civilisation demands, and which at present are entirely absent, with deplorable results.

A Public Health Act for the Union has been drafted, and it is understood will be laid before the next session of the Union Parliament; the Police force, with but two or three exceptions, is controlled to-day by the Union Government, and a Bill to regulate motor car traffic throughout the Union has been drafted for submission at the next session. Under any General Municipal Law for the Union, provision should be made for the institution of a body analagous to the Local Government Board of England, which should be invested with supreme powers in regard to Municipal loans, Municipal accounts, and Municipal auditing. Instead of each Municipality promoting a special loan Bill as and when required, application would be made to the Local Government Board for authority to issue debentures up to a given sum for the prosecution of special works. The authority would not be given until the Local Government Board were satisfied that the Municipality had made ample provision for the payment of interest and the provision of sinking funds, nor until it had been provided that the contemplated works would be for the general benefit of the community. Within well defined lines the Local Government Board should be empowered to advance monies at a low rate of interest to minor Municipalities for the prosecution of public works of approved descriptions. A very real necessity exists for the compulsory adoption of a uniform system of bookkeeping in all Municipalities, which should be laid down by the Local Government Board, who should be furnished by each Corporation with periodical returns reflecting the financial operations of the Municipality. The Local Government Board should also be responsible for the conduct of annual and "surprise" audits of the books of all the Municipalities. The system of audit at present in vogue is farcical, for beyond securing that the various accounts are properly balanced auditors have no power to criticise expenditure. Under a properly drawn Act fairly defining legitimate expenditure of Municipal funds, the Local Government Board auditors should have the power to surcharge Councillors for any monies proved to have been wrongly disbursed.

So far the history of the South African Municipalities is remarkably free from any scandals of mal-administration, and taking everything into consideration wonderful progress has been made in the Municipal life of South Africa during the past fifty years, but now that Municipal enterprise has assumed such gigantic proportions it is of the first importance that existing legislation should be thoroughly scrutinised and a Bill be drafted based upon the experience already gained, not only in South Africa, but in Great Britain and the more progressive Continental States.

TOWN PLANNING.

By HERBERT BAKER, F.R.I.B.A., Architect of the Union Buildings, Pretoria.

In a lecture I delivered at Pretoria, I mentioned that town planning was an art which has but lately come to the front, and been raised to the rank of the older arts. London and Liverpool have recently instituted chairs of civic design in their universities. I hope these are examples which Capetown and Pretoria will some day follow. There is no art which, in the long run, is more profitable to a city, nor any field in which good seed, well sown, will ultimately reap a richer harvest. The seed and the sowing cost little; but, as generations may pass between seed time and harvest, town planning, like forestry, should be husbanded by Governments, and not by individuals. John Burns, who has thrown himself so fervently into the efforts to redeem the faults of over-grown London, in a recent speech said:—"An enor-

mous amount of the £25,000,000 per annum we are now spending in London would not have been necessary if Wren's plans after the great fire had been adopted; or if 100, or even 80, years ago, inspired by his plans and ideals as to what the City should have been, they had created a chair of town planning at the London University." Even in beautiful Paris, I believe, the authorities have authorised an expenditure of £35,000,000 to undo mistakes made in the past. Most of the larger towns of America —Washington, Philadelphia, and Chicago— certainly are spending vast sums to rectify the bad initial planning of their towns, which have grown up in the past much in the same haphazard manner in which our South African towns have grown. In the old and new world, every large town with any civic pride is now regretting past neglect, and considering schemes for improvement; so it is full time we in South Africa bestirred ourselves. The capital of the United States was saved by the foresight of General Washington, who employed a French architect, trained in the great school of Le Notre, the French master of landscape design. As it is, through not keeping strictly to l'Enfants plan, when the first enthusiasm died, and the usual cold fit came on, millions are now being, and will have to be, spent for expropriation. Jerry buildings, and even railways, were built on the architects' vistas.

Modern towns are not created, as old ones often were, by the fiat of a despot. Democratic communities grow in a less arbitrary manner. Alexander, and the great building emperors, such as Trajan, Hadrian, and Constantine, took very direct methods to establish their new cities. They carried with them, in their progress throught their Empire, architects, armies of workmen and craftsmen. Towns, laid out on scientific and artistic principles, sprang up like magic. Constantine, in his new capital of the Empire, not only endowed this new capital with magnificent architecture and all the arts, but he took more direct measures to force population. If the Roman patrician families refused to migrate to the new capital, the Emperor ordered the father of the family away to the frontier in Gaul or Britain. When he came back, he found that all his family and household gods had been removed and installed in a new house in Constantinople. Peter the Great, I believe, did the same at St. Petersburg. Thus, town planing was an easier problem under Imperial than under our modern democratic systems.

The mediaeval towns grew in the form that congested sites, bounded by natural features and fortifications, admitted. They are, as a result, generally picturesque, but not always in conformity with the modern municipal by-laws. But their defect in this respect affords no reason for us to err in the opposite extreme direction. Our modern townships are laid out on what is called the "Gridiron System," i.e., roads mechanically standardised, crossing each other at regular intervals, and at right angles, regardless of artistic considerations, and often of natural features. The result, except for an occasional square, is a series of monotonous streets, with broad vistas it is true, but with nothing to see at the end of them.

In the medieval towns, by chance, or the natural instincts of the citizens, and in the town schemes of the Renaissance by studied intention, the finest buildings were more often placed at the end of streets, culminating the vista, and making it beautiful. People walking down a street look naturally less at the sides, but more at the ends, and it is at the termination of streets that architectural effect most tells. It is not the number, but the position, of its fien buildings on which the beauty of a town depends. Many of you know the Madeleine, at Paris. It blocks a street, but forms a most noble end to a fine vista— across a bridge, past an obelisk, between two symetrical buildings, all on the same axis. This effect, which helps to make Paris pre-eminent for its ordered beauty amongst cities, would not be possible under our present South African system of town planning. The position of the Pantheon, at the end of the Rue Soufflot, is a similar example.

Wren, in his report on re-planning London, insists that the churches and public buildings should be "conspicuous and insular." In the same report he recommends that the width of streets should be 90ft., 60ft., and 30ft. respectively.

I am far from meaning that all streets should terminate in some architectural object, blocking the view beyond. In streets which you can look down upon from hills, as you can in Pretoria, or which can be seen stretching far into the open country, the long vista should be made the most of. But to get the full value of the vista you must give interest, dignity, and scale to it by monuments, water, or some formal treatment of trees. The great vista at Versailles is an example, where great beauty is attained by the effect of water, statuary, and trees planted on a geometrical plan with alternate massed shade and open sunshine. The town-planner cannot lay down any law; but he pleads that

there may be variety and interest in streets, and that the present order of things may be reversed, and the most be made in the future of the best buildings and natural features, and the least made of disfiguring tram poles.

I have no time to deal with the subject of tree-planting. I congratulte the municipality of Pretoria on having avoided one common error: the trees in the new avenues are planted in double rows of the same kind. All the great avenues of the world are planted in this way. Mixing the varieties is a modern vice. I should like to add a plea for the classic trees, which are too much ignored: the ilex, the myrtle, and the stone pine, if it will grow. The cypress and the oak you have. The plane, which you are now planting, can be called classic, as in Greece it gives shade to to every fountain. And I think we ought to try and make our own South African trees serve the purpose of art. The local stinkwood, that grows in the Fountains Valley, seems worth trying in any town; and the yellow-wood, if it will thrive, should take the place in South Africa that the ilex does in Italy. There must be many others that the town planner could yoke to his service. The more in Italy and France you study the art of landscape gardening, the more you realise that some formality of planting is necessary in the vicinity of buildings and towns. There was one thing I used to admire in Pretoria. It was a circle of stately white-stemmed gum trees in your park. I used to think that, if fairies lived in Pretoria, they might have danced there. Fairies, you know, have architectural minds, and like circles! But these trees have been cut down, and a vulgar rockery takes their place.

The Cape Peninsula particularly has neglected its opportunities. Through those magnificent Flats there is only one through road from sea to sea, and that is dangerously congested and slovenly in appearance. If the Cape authorities ever wake up to the burden imposed upon them by the rich endowments of Nature, they will have to embark in the future on a costly expropriation scheme. The Cape has neglected its duties in this respect almost as much as the Rand—but with nature all in her favour, instead of all against. The authorities there have done little to help Nature. The one great effort at landscape planning—the high level road through the forest round the base of Table Mountain—was the work, at his own cost, of a private citizen, Cecil Rhodes.

Some of the old South African towns were well planned. Grahamstown, for instance, has a very broad central street, lined with trees, in the centre of which at one end is the Cathedral, with its tall spire; at the other, the gateway of the old Drosky. The street is made by the right placing of these two buildings.

I will show you presently the plan of Nancy, which is perhaps the highest effort of the French genius in town planning. Here the vistas are not kept open endlessly, but buildings or monuments are intentionally placed in the centre. Interest, scale, and beauty are thus obtained. Our streets are too often frames without a picture.

In England, the classic traditions, which made such a beautiful town of Bath, were swept away by the romantic revival and the worship of Individualism. In Germany, also, architects went, for example, to their old mediaeval towns, like Nuremberg, but they are now, I think, sorry that they did so. In France, the great classic tradition survived, to her great advantage. But England has never departed from one great tradition—that of the cottage, or separate house, as opposed to the flat system. At the recent International Town Planning Congress, a French representative, Monsieur Rey, said: "The English cottage system is one of the national glories of England, and the 50-storied mansion of New York is an economic disgrace to the United States. It is the crowning glory of England to have made her own this motto: 'One house, one family.'"

A German representative also, Professor Rud, made a most favourable comparison between the English principle of cottage building and the system of flats prevailing in Germany and on the Continent. It is something to the good that this tradition, thus admired by the French and German experts, is the basis on which South African towns have been built up. The tradition gives us the material for beautiful garden cities, if we know how to handle it.

I have, I fear, little practical advice to give, as the subject needs much consideration, not only by architects, but by surveyors, engineers, lawyers, and politicians.

It is admitted by those who have written most on the subject in England, that it is impossible to give wide discretionary powers to municipalities. But the central Government should have such powers, acting through trained experts in civic design. These experts should be able to control the laying out of townships in their infancy, so that they may ensure the potentiality of beauty for their maturity. There should be power to limit the number of

houses per acre in different zones, as in the German system; to reserve sites for public buildings, and the location of factories. There is something wrong in our municipal laws when an engine-house adjoins the Cathedral in Pretoria, and a skating-rink the chief church in Johannesburg. Municipalities should be empowered to offer inducements to good landlords, or companies, who desire to improve their properties for the good of their town. In the Hampstead Garden City—the best in England—the Hendon District Board made considerable alterations in their by-laws to aid the realisation of a fine architectural scheme. The result has been a considerable gain, in addition to the health conditions of the village. Our by-laws are too often framed for congested cities in northern climates. The most beautiful feature of Italian towns, for instance, the arcade or colonnade over the pavement, for which our climate makes such strong artistic and practical demands, is forbidden by all our by-laws. These colonnades were the dominant feature of both ancient and modern towns in the south of Europe and round the Mediterranean. We have a record of Alexander personally laying out the two cross colonades which formed the centre of Alexandria. There was a double colonnade two miles long in the original form of Antioch, and the remains of a similar one exist at Palmyra, in Syria, which impresses us with the greatness of public life of which they bear witness. I have seen such a colonnade in Patras, a modern Greek town. Bologna is famous for its arcade. If these arcades were common they could not, I think, prejudice the shops.

In the English papers some time ago there was a report of a debate in the House of Commons, in which a Bill for a new bridge across the Thames, and a new road into the centre of the City of London (a scheme costing 2½ millions), was rejected by a large majority in favour of an alternate route, in which the bridge and new road would culminate in the dome of St. Paul's. It is of hopeful augury for the progress of the town planning movement in England, that in this debate artistic considerations prevailed.

May we in South Africa realise the importance of the subject in time to prevent mistakes that have proved so costly to the old countries.

I regret that the subject is much too big for a short paper, and I fear I have been able to touch only on the fringe of the subject. I have said nothing about the excellent town plan of Copenhagen or Vienna, nor of the scientific systems and work in Germany. But I shall be satisfied if I have been able to create a little interest in this most important subject.

ART IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By T. C. GOTCH, R.B.C., R.I. (delegate from the Council of the Royal British Colonial Society of Artists to inquire into the history and present condition of Art in South Africa).

If contrast is one of the means which the artist uses, how rich for him is South Africa! Here the contrasts are large and simple—if anything, almost too obvious for his purpose. By day the veldt merges into the hills, the hills, delicately silhonetted, almost melt into the sky; night falls, and the colour of the veld and hills is transformed past recognition to a thousand indescribable hues, and they stand boldly against a golden sky. One sits in a restaurant car, with its civilised appointments, at a wayside station, which is scarcely more than a name on the map, and marvels at the sharpness of the contrast. The hills of Natal, and the parched undulations of the high veld; the polished shops and the tin shanties of Johannesburg; the dignity of the Union Buildings at Pretoria and the meanness of the countless miles of barbed wire that hold an untamed country in a net: a handful of whites exploiting, yet keeping at arm's length, a huge coloured population; the voortrekker aloof and solitary, and the eager seeker after gold: these are contrasts indeed! How comes it there are so few painters, with such things at hand to provoke their talent? The answer is simple: the people are too busy making homes and providing the daily meal to have breathing space to give a thought to the higher forms of intellectual enjoyment, and with most people every pound of profit—like Loudon Dodd's—has to vanish into the mill again to seek another. Few people in a new country can afford to hang even a five-pound note idle on their walls. Some, indeed, may cling to vestiges of culture, and cherish tastes which they or their fathers brought with them from Europe, but, frankly, such an attitude is alien to the true spirit of the pioneer.

There are signs, however, that beyond the pioneering spirit there is a desire for something more than can be got direct

from the soil. Town dwellers pay some sort of tribute to Art, and in Johannesburg and Durban people come, not in crowds, but in a thin and steady stream, to see the Art collections which energy, large-mindedness, or generosity have provided. Architecture, too, speaks silently to the world. At Ladysmith, for instance, there is a gem of a post office, set in a region of tin tabernacles; at Pretoria, a railway station which speaks a message of refinement worthy of Italy.

There are signs, too, of activity amongst the artists of South Africa, a desire to consolidate and strengthen their position as a fraternity, so that by union and sympathy with one another they may better be able to push their uphill fight.

The chief difficulty for the artist is the small appreciation that awaits him. An art atmosphere is essential to the growth of art. The artist cannot live on air, indeed: but he cannot live without it, and anything that will foster the growth of appreciation is all to the good. For this reason the proposal to send out an exhibition of the best contemporary British art by the Society which the writer represents, to be on view in the chief cities of the Union, is welcomed by artists: it will be educative and stimulating both to the artist and the general public; it will be an object lesson to the public as to the value of pictures—good art is necessarily expensive—and it will benefit the artists of South Africa by raising the standard of price, which at present is at a deplorable level. How is it that an artist is unable to live by his art in South Africa? Why should he have to subsidise it by some other business? Is this worthy of a country of such natural resources, and with the prospect of such a brilliant future? These are questions which must spring to the mind of an intelligent and sympathetic observer from the Old Country.

Progress in the higher things of life is slow; appreciative study is necessary to the enjoyment of the rich harvest of pleasure which such things can yield, and it is idle to expect too much. But something might be done to add to the glory of a young nation; some fund might be raised with the twofold object of attracting the best work of the day to this country, and of raising the hopes of the artist here that a handsome reward awaits his efforts. It is surprising how money will flow in from an awakened conscience!

A remarkable effort has been made in Johannesburg in the new art collection; it is of a high order, and comes here ready made (as it were) from Home. The idea of the promoters seems to be to enthrone a certain phase of art that shall stamp its character on the sub-Continent. Money has not been spared, expert advice has been taken, with the result that a handsome present has been made to Johannesburg. But the point to observe is this: the money has been spent, and the selection made—in England. Suppose for a moment it had been possible to spend anything like the sum this collection cost in South Africa; it would attract a constant stream of art to this country, educating, building up taste, adding refinement and delight to life, and creating that atmosphere which is the one great need of the artists of South Africa; and, beyond that, it would have held out a prize for which they themselves could compete.

The Johannesburg collection, though not yet complete, may be taken as an accomplished fact; but in other centres it is well worth considering whether money devoted to art should not be spent here rather than at Home. This policy, so successful in attracting pictures to the Provincial exhibitions in England, should be equally successful here.

There is good work being done in South Africa, but the danger is that young artists who show marked talent will, quite rightly, go to Europe for a training which cannot be obtained in this country, and—here is the danger—will remain there. What one wants to see, and what one ought to see, is Africa painted by Africans, by those born in the country, who know its aspect, its people, and its history. There is any amount of material for art, and for great art; whether it should be in the form of pictures or of sculpture and mural paintings in public buildings, is an open question. But if family ties, and a love of his native land are strong enough to call the student back from Europe, what market is there for him now? Practically none. Is he to depend for his living on teaching, and so flood his little market with rivals, when the country cannot absorb the work which is already being done? This seems very like killing the golden goose, only the goose is very small, and "silver" were the better adjective. The outlook is not very cheerful to-day. But the matter is vital, and perhaps ot-morrow the Government, the municipalities, or private enterprise may see the wisdom of offering some inducement for the African painter to do his life's work in Africa, some prize for work done in the Union and to remain in the Union. It does not matter to art whether the artist comes back to Africa—art can find a field for the artist all over the world—but it matters to the nation.

Two things, therefore, are essential to-

day. First, a stream of contemporary art passing through the country from time to time, to stimulate interest, to build up taste, to serve as an object lesson both to the public and the artist, and to provoke people of means to buy pictures at adequate prices. Second, some step or steps to encourage the artists of the Union, to induce them to work in and for their home. The country has a thrilling history, full of contrasts; a record of great deeds thrust upon a simple people, of incompatible ideals resulting in a stupendous collision: the present is a time of peace and reconciliation; ahead loom momentous problems, whose wise solution ensure a brilliant future. May that future count amongst its treasures some pictorial record of the past, done by the hand, the brain, and the purse of the people of the soil!

SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE

(By Professor BESSELAAR, M.A., University College, Maritzburg.)

In a discussion of the literature of South Africa we can leave out of account the literature owned by the aborigines. If they possess any at all it is confined to some lullabies and war songs, and to a highly interesting folk-lore containing very curious and very ancient tales which have come down by oral tradition, a wealth which certainly calls for notice, but which has not been explored after the clearing work done by that eminent Cape scholar, De Bleek.

The whites who at some time or other alighted on these shores have made attempts at creating a South African literature. The feature which at once strikes the student of the subject is the extraordinary output in historical works; the test often applied has seldom failed that out of any collection of South African works more than two-thirds have to be classed as history or attempts at history. The rapid flow of events and the many passions stirred up by them certainly accounts for this experience. But even apart from these, European South Africa can show a production of creative literature and "belles lettres" which alike in quantity and quality is remarkable for so young a country.

The Portuguese were the first to contribute; the vast deep, smitten by furious gales, forms the all-absorbing topic of their stories and songs. They were succeeded by the Dutch, in whose writings the watery main soon gave way as a source of inspiration to rural scenes and stories of hunt and adventure; after these came the English contributions dealing with travel and warfare and political controversy.

A welcome admixture is supplied by the records, wise and otherwise, of chance visitors who made a more or less prolonged stay.

It is very difficult to lay hands on a comprehensive and exhaustive account of South African literature. The best in many respects, especially for the English section, is probably Mr. Ian Colvin's "Introduction to Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography." Most of the other essays on the subject are newspaper or magazine articles; one of the fullest and most conscientious among them is by Professor Purvis, of Pretoria.

The contributions to South African literature in Portuguese contain mostly stories of shipwreck on the south-east coast, with heartrending tales of the miseries caused to the wretched survivors by savage men and beasts and by inanimate nature, although even here the humorous touch is not wanting, when some high and mighty potentate insists on being approached even in the wilderness with all the paraphernalia becoming to his exalted position in the Orient. Touching is the tale of heroism displayed by missionaries who went up the Zambesi for hundreds of miles, in times when no eager Press could blazon forth their glory. By far the finest work on Portuguese is the Lusiad of Camoens, which gives a most graphic account of the struggle with Adamastor, the Spirit of Storms, infesting the Cape. One and all these Portuguese writings are full of interest and romance.

With the occupation of the Cape of Good Hope by Jan van Riebeek in 1652 began the time of Dutch rule and influence. The Dutch were no birds of passage like the Portuguese; they came to stay. There was inter-action between the first European settlers and the physical features of the country. After all, this is an essential condition for the creation of a national literature. The limited number of truths expressed in the various phases of any literature are found to be grouped round some central facts of permanent influence e.g., the conditions of soil, climate, animal and plant life. These give to poets and prose writers the material to draw on for their similes, they also incite their imagination. European literature cannot be transplanted as such to South Africa; genuine literature is of indigenous growth; in

our country the adaptation of man to surroundings came about by gradual process.

During the 17th and 18th centuries many were the journals and reports published by ship's captains and travellers, or by such hunters and adventurers as made South Africa the field of their activities. One of the best is Jan de Marre, who in 1740 published an "Erekroon voor Kaap de Goede Hoop," highly interesting for its topography of the Peninsula. Valentijn, a Dutch Reformed minister, called at the Cape on his voyage to and from the East Indies, and his descriptions afford a good insight into the social conditions obtaining in his time. The diaries religiously kept by the Dutch Governors at the Cape for more than a century and a half contain invaluable information for the historian, but incidentally also many a page of real literary merit. The work of Peter Kolbe, who left the Cape in 1713 after having spent there nine eventful years, is full of curious and quaint stories. For the later 18th and early 19th centuries no report on the home life at the Cape could be fuller than is depicted in the Memoirs of Borcherds.

The 19th century was for South Africa a period of restless activity. Civilisation spread rapidly from the south-west over the vast tracts of country now covered by the Union of South Africa. In one generation the nomadic and pastoral population had to pass from the homely old-fashioned treadmill into the bustle of modern life: this evolution was pregnant with romance and tragedy, but the genial atmosphere of ease of mind and body, so necessary for the production of lasting literary art, was sadly lacking.

With the advent of the British in 1806 an English South African literature came to birth. English travellers, hunters, and explorers had recorded their impressions and experiences all through the 18th century and before (Edward Terry as early as 1655), but now those pioneers were followed by traders, missionaries, and soldiers, many of whom published their exploits, opinions, and counsels.

Thomas Pringle towers high over a mass of mediocrity. "Afar in the Desert," once so popular all over South Africa, is perhaps his best song. Good work has been done by Perceval Gibbons, Mr. Runcie, and in some pieces of war poetry by Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

As for prose written in or about South Africa, there is a superabundance enough to stock many of those literary catacombs commonly known as public libraries. Rider Haggard's thrilling tales outdo many a penny shocker; Ernest Glanville and Douglas Blackburn do not leave the slightest doubt as to their political bias. Best known are Olive Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm" and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's "Jock of the Bushveld." The first is meant to portray life in a Dutch homestead. The salient features of Afrikander thought and character and the typical moods of nature in the Karroo are faithfully reproduced according to the lights of the authoress. Tant' Sannie is intended to personify the typical mental attitude of the South African Dutch woman.

"Jock of the Bushveld" provides a striking counterpart to the "Story of an African Farm"; the tale is full of rustic character drawing, all the principal figures are English, the natives are depicted as developed under English influence. The book seems to enforce the truth that physical as well as mental superiority is needed to make the relationship of the whites and blacks in South Africa one of mutual benefit.

A South African English drama is practically non-existent, although the many heterogeneous elements of our motley society present material on all sides. Colonial literature and drama seem to bud and thrive only when the newcomers are beginning to identify themselves with the soil they live on. And this takes time. As it is, the elements of a national drama begin to manifest themselves in farces and very light comedy, as may be seen announced from time to time in the Rand papers and in "De Volkstem." Time will weigh the output, but may find a good deal wanting.

As for modern Dutch South African literature, it is closely related with the evolution of national individuality; it dates back as a conscious attempt some forty years ago. Mr. Melt Brink, the Rev. S. J. du Toit, and President Reitz encouraged the founding of a national Dutch literature, with the express purpose of lifting their nation and bringing it to its own. Eugene Marais was the first after the Anglo-Boer war to publish poetry. His work is marked by intense feeling. In 1908 Gustav Preller put in a plea for the South African Dutch to be accepted by his compatriots as their written language. He did so in his introductory remarks to a collection of poems written by Jan Celliers, called "Die Vlakte," after the chief poem in the book. "Die Vlakte" established the birthright of "Afrikaans." In conception it is genuinely South African; it translates the dumb sensations of the illimitable veld, and has caught the right colour and at-

mosphere. At the same time as "Die Vlakte," a bundle of poems, "Bij die Monument," was published by Dr. J. D. du Toit under the nom-de-plume of "Totius." With Totius Afrikaans has become music; his song of "Die Ossewa" echoes the monotonous tossing of the vehicle of the desert, we hear the unwearied trudging of the heavy oven. Both Celliers and Totius show that they have successfully studied the modern English, Dutch, and Flemish poets; Celliers is epic, Totius lyric. Malherbe, Joubert and Smith have followed up the example and produced work of much promise.

As for prose, the first place is taken by "Die Sewe Duiwels," by Lion Cachet, who died two months ago. The book has set a standard which has not yet been surpassed. Gustav Preller, De Waal, Lub, and others have given work of decided merit. As yet opinions are divided as to the wisdom of dividing the gulf between South African Dutch and the so-called High Dutch. It is a fact borne out in each case that Afrikaans is best written by those extremely well versed in the Dutch of Holland, and it would seem that the advocates of Afrikaans would make headway more generally and more rapidly if they would desist for some time from unduly increasing the amount of humorous reading matter, and direct their energies to the creation of serious works of art.

As well for Dutch as for South African literature, our expectations for the future are of the brightest. In folk-lore and history, in nature and contemporary events there lies a wealth of inspiration hardly touched. The trend of education is to make bi-lingualism a living fact, and linguistic development may prove one of the most likely avenues to literary appreciation.

RELIGIOUS FORCES IN S. AFRICA

By W. PEDR. WILLIAMS (President of the Congregational Union of South Africa).

One of the great leaders of political thought in England 50 years ago said that an age was at hand when every institution would be called upon to give a reason for its existence. There can be no doubt that such an age is upon us, and the institutions that are linked with the cause of religion have to go with the rest to the bar of judgment. It will not be enough to plead that they have lived long and that the power they represent has lived longer still. They will have to show that they are of concrete value now. They will have to make clear that they are indispensable to the higher making of mankind. Can they do so? Disraeli said, in 1866, that individuals may form communities, but it is institutions alone that can create a nation. Can the religious institutions of South Africa plead that they fulfil this test?

Old forces from Europe and older forces from the East have projected themselves into this wide land. The only indigenous religious ideas are found in the animistic traditions of native tribes The temple of the Hindu, the mosque of the son of Islam, the synagogue of the Jew, all illustrate the transplantation of ancient faiths. Cathedrals and churches witness to the fact that there has been an immigration of Christian ideas as well as of people. The Rabbi, the Predikant, the Priest, the Minister—each is a symbol of movements that have defied the ages and crossed the seas. The prevailing note in all these institutions is an anxious reluctance to break with the past. They are propelled by the loyalty that brought them into being in the new environment. A curious instance is in the persistence of mid-Victorian religious sentiment in Natal suburbanism. How long the influence of the fresh setting can be resisted cannot yet be told. Climate pays a great part in these things, so Buckle has told us in his mountainous work on the history of civilisation. A Roman Catholic prelate in Australia claims that climate will win the battle for his Church in that continent. His Church could place a perfectly thought out creed before men, and in a hot climate they would prefer that to the mental perturbation they were often involved in by Protestantism. On the other hand, there have been signs of a mild revolt against the incongruities of winter liturgies amid summer brilliancies. There are some who think while they worship, and these often get into the habit of practising a kind of mental reservation when they lift their voices in hymns that owe their colour and throb to northern latitudes. There has not been time for much to happen. In this land many still live who heard the departing footfall of the pioneer. To the pioneer in anything we pay our tribute; to his pluck and his capacity for self-renunciation. We seize this opportunity, supplied by a notable movement in the history of this journal, to say that we honour the men who felt they must build sanctuaries as well as homes, and perpetuate in a new land the best they had learned in an old. We do this the more eagerly because so many who come to a new land forget or depreciate the greatest things in their experience. The lives of the men and women who took steps

to reproduce in South Africa the institutions which had nourished their deeper life are crowded with fine and tender deeds.

We think of the sons of Holland who brought with them the theology that had wrought wonders in putting iron into the blood of their forefathers. There are spacious sweeps of life in this sub-Continent where the Dutch Churches hold almost monarchical sway over opinion and custom. More absolute still is the sovereignty of the high altar of Rome over the conscience of those for whom its mystic fascinations provide the solace of life, and who have clung in this land to a force whose march down the avenue of the generations has been one of the dominant amazements of history. Wesleyan Methodism, with its unsurpassed power of mobilising its resources and its inheritance of the fire that proved to be England's supreme social cleansant in the eighteenth century, has covered this land with splendid energies as thick, as Milton would put it, as leaves in Vallombrosa. That remarkable dynamic which has put such tenacity into the Scottish character, and made culture common north of the Tweed while it was still exceptional south of it, has been brought into widespread action in the Presbyterian Churches of this country, and is an import of incalculable value. Each Church has its own distinctive contribution to the spiritual capital of a nation, and the Anglican communion has brought to the table of the national life its potent witness to the beauty and influence of reverence. This is an asset of unspeakable worth in the development of a nation. The old struggles in England for liberty of conscience and the hunger for a simpler spirituality have expressed themselves in the organised enterprise of the Baptist and Congregational Churches. The Baptists have been a standing protest against the tendency of symbolism to outrun conviction. Congregationalism, in its plucky demonstration of the democratic principle, proclaims the right and duty of its members to think for themselves. The Salvation Army has taken up a task that nobody was discharging, and its note of concern for the submerged has struck far beyond the walls of the organisation. Christian Science, Theosophy, and Spiritism are with us. Brahmanism and Mohammedanism are strongly entrenched in our midst. However insufficient the new cults or the old faiths of the Orient may seem to many of us, they obviously meet some need in their zealous votaries, and each emphasises some facet of the gem of truth. So far as we are concerned, wherever any purifying and ennobling effect is produced on the human mind we recognise the presence of the Eternal Christ.

We do not claim that any one of these forces in its present form is vital to the higher good of the people of this land. But we do claim that the thing these forces stand for, some of them imperfectly, and none of them with absolute adequacy, is a fundamental necessity to the individual and to society. This thing is, that at the back of all facts known only through the agency of the senses is the spiritual life. The three most brilliant thinkers in the world during the last decade, Eucken, Bergson, and William James, have been calling the educated world back from the arid limitations of materialism to the glowing potencies of the life of the spirit. The religious forces we have been reviewing have helped to keep the human gaze on the ampler life. They have therefore added to the sum of gladness and serenity. There have been aching griefs amid the sunlight of this bright land which no sunlight could heal. But the light that never fell on land or sea has often come with healing in its hand. These forces have helped to produce that social discipline which leads men to obey the laws. The law-maker may call spirits from the vasty deep, but it is doubtful whether they would come at his call if religion had not forestalled him with its influence. It is possible, as is powerfully shown in the current number of the "Hibbert Journal," for social aspiration and legislative zeal to go ahead of social discipline. It is not enough to elect a Parliament by popular vote. There must be a spirit of consent to accept its decisions. The religious forces have been instrumental in making constitutional government easier. The Minister of State has never yet recognised his indebtedness to the Minister of Religion. Religious institutions have therefore clear claims on the co-operation of every man who cares for the welfare of the State. The Japanese are seeing that ethics require the sanctions of religion as a driving force, and their keenest minds are engaged on the construction of an amalgam of Christianity, Shintoism, and Buddhism. Distinct signs abound of an increasing suspicion of the futility of attempts to mould conduct without the link with the invisible powers.

Four things are needed to enrich the efficiency of the religious forces. One is that the only test of valid ministry shall be the power to produce the highest results. The next is that these forces shall be always on the side of sympathy and a fair opportunity for every human being. The third is that the best men and women shall strive to preserve Sunday as a day for the culture of the spirit, and that no selfishness shall be permitted to damage this gift of religion to the race. And last

and greatest, that neither polity nor dogma, neither the love nor the fear of controversy—for there is a peace that means intellectual sloth—shall be allowed to hide from the wistful eyes of South African souls the Divine Face of the Man of Nazareth.

THE PART OF ELECTRICITY IN THE PROGRESS OF S. AFRICA.

By JOHN ROBERTS, Borough Electrical Engineer, Durban.

When it was first suggested to me by the Editor of this Diamond Jubilee number that an article about Electricity would be of interest, I thought that such a subject was scarcely worthy to be ranked as of the same importance in South African affairs as those of Customs, Native Policy, and those others which are to be dealt with so ably by their respective exponents, forming a symposium on the progress of this country during the past 60 years.

My outlook during the years I have been engaged in extending the application of electricity in the town of Durban has been limited to the boundaries of this borough. My object has been, first of all, to sell electricity cheaply, and, this accomplished, to extend its application among all the public and private, social and economic, domestic and industrial, activities of a growing town, being convinced that of all the gifts of nature, the mysterious agency of the electric substance seems the most beneficent means which our civilisation has at its command in ameliorating the lot of the human dwellers of this globe.

It has been my business to prove that this is no meaningless boast in the municipal sphere, and it will not perhaps be denied that the development of the Durban electricity undertaking during the last 15 years gives it justification.

What has been going on in Durban, however, is just what is happening in every progressive community in all parts of the world from London to Tokio, from Alaska to Tasmania. Electricity is invading every department of human activity, and municipal authorities having come to recognise that the provision of a cheap and abundant electric supply is one of their principal and most important duties, the success attending their efforts in this direction has been great; it has been proved the economic problems have been influenced so profoundly that the development is now more than of local, urban, or municipal rank; it has risen to be a factor of national importance, and I foresee that the day is not far distant when the legislative Governments of all countries will have to take into their own hands the matter of electricity supply and distribution throughout their territory.

It was a consideration of this character which determined me to endeavour, in what is, I am afraid, a very inadequate fashion, to give a sketchy and tentative suggestion of the part electricity will play in the national life of this country. It has already begun to bring itself before the public eye by the part it is playing in the industry which, it must be confessed, is still the most important South Africa can boast, the winning of gold, and I hope to show that it is likely some day to benefit just as favourably the industry which we all hope will one day occupy the premier position—I mean, of course, that of agriculture.

Reviewing, first of all, the progress which has been made by electricity in the service of man up to now, it may be stated that the first public supplies of current were for the most part inaugurated by municipalities or companies, who had franchises granted to them giving them the right to generate electricity and supply it for providing a safer and healthier form of illuminant than gas, both for indoor and outdoor lighting. For some years down to about the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century, progress was steady, but in no way sensational, if we except the progress that was made in the United States of America in electric street railways. That was indeed phenomenal, for, while most other European countries, especially Old England, were trying to deal with their urban passenger transport by means of horse tramways, that progressive country strung up wires in all its towns of over 5,000 inhabitants, and to millions of its people their first experience of electricity was a ride in an electric trolley car, as they called their trams. The first year of the twentieth century saw this praiseworthy example followed by almost every other civilised country, Old England being about the last to get completed, but characteristically making probably the most permanent and solid job of the lot.

It is not intended to weary the reader of a more or less popular article by going into technical details of plant, and so on, but an intelligent appreciation of the factors which make electricity production a matter of national rather than of local

politics requires some understanding of the causes which have led up to this, and it will be particularly of service at the present time if local politicians will recognise that parochialism in regard to electrical supply will be fatal to the fulfilment of all its possibilities.

Digressing for one moment, it may be remarked that electrical progress is not the only activity which will benefit by a broad outlook and treatment. There is no doubt that water conservation and supply are on the same plane in this respect, and I hope to show that they are even intimately bound up with one another in this respect. Returning to our review of electrical progress, the beginning of the twentieth century saw most towns with any pretensions to up-to-dateness with electric light and electric trams. The electricity was generated mostly by steam engines and expenses were rather high, and nothing much was done in catering for power requirements. Gradually, however, the electric motor was improved, and it came almost as an astonishment to electrical engineers themselves to find that for nearly every industrial purpose, from rolling steel rails to driving sewing machines, the electric motor could do its work better than any other prime mover. The demand for current suddenly increased almost beyond the capabilities of the existing power stations, till the Parsons turbine, which for years had languished for an outlet for its possibilities, suddenly came into its own and saved the situation, and since then the strides forward remind one of the giant's seven-league boots. Truly the Parsons turbine has been the seven-league boots on the legs of the electrical Jack the Giant-killer. The simile is not so absurdly out of place, for electrical history of the past few years reads almost like a fairy tale, and so far from being concluded, the progress so far made has been only sufficient to lead us on to ground from which the vista of the scene is far and away more extraordinary than anything we have passed through.

For we still have not advanced further than the operation of isolated systems of production and supply of current. So far so good; the cost of current has been reduced to such figures that electric light is now indeed the poor man's light, and low enough that all industrial power can be performed by the electric motor. Electricity at from a halfpenny to a penny a unit does these things, and if we go no further all our towns may be rid of the smoke nuisance. That is at any rate an achievement. But what will electricity at a tenth of a penny accomplish, for we have quite reasonable grounds for believing that within the next twenty years, or perhaps much less, the conditions of living of the teeming millions of England will be modified for the better by all the profound changes which such a thing can bring about, changes which even the most advanced electrical engineer cannot foretell.

The next great step forward which is going to advance the science of electrical production to this stage is the centralisation of existing power stations under one authority, and the linking up of all the electric supply mains into one huge network, so that the obscurest village will be supplied, and all but the remotest farmer will have a supply of electric current at his door. It is a blessed word "centralisation" in South Africa, or it was a year or so back, but there can be no question of its blessedness in the case of electric supply. For it is really extraordinary to observe how the selling price of current can be reduced when small central stations are shut up, and a large area with diverse demands supplied from one works. The centralisation of the manufacture of electricity will result in the closing up of many of the present electric generating works, especially of those whose location does not allow of the most economical working. Wherever possible water powers will be utilised, and as the transmission of electric power over distances of at least 150 miles is now quite within the region of safe and practical politics, all the electricity used in many countries will be carried out by the utilisation of water powers exclusively. Those not so fortunate in this respect will have their electric works situated at the coal pit's mouth, as it will soon be much cheaper to transport current than coal.

To fulfil the task to which the writer of this paper set himself, it will now be necessary to show what is the application of all the above to our South African life. Electrical progress is so far satisfactory inasmuch as all urban communities which have formed a local authority have an electrical undertaking. It cannot be said, however, that current is being sold at very cheap rates for the most part. Of course, generally speaking, the principal items on the expense sheet, coal and labour, are usually high except on the Rand, where coal is as cheap or cheaper than it is in most European countries. Unfortunately, the demand in all but the largest towns is very limited, being confined almost entirely to lighting purposes. There is no reason, however, in most cases

why a good business in electric cooking should not be done if the tariffs are brought down to a figure which would make the cost to the consumer of the newer, cleaner, simpler, and in every way more satisfactory method of preparing food comparable with working by coal or wood. In towns where there are any industries established current should be sold at a price which will enable every manufacturer to instal electric motors. This will not only help existing industries, but probably foster new ones, which is the aim of all those who wish to see true progress in the land.

But it is outside the towns where I believe the greatest and so far quite unexploited field for electricity lies. The farmer at the present time, except in the rarest cases, is entirely ignorant of the services which electricity could be made to render him. During the past few months, as even we of the towns are aware, the farmer has been cruelly suffering from one of the worst droughts of recent years, and I suppose most people believe that such a state of affairs must be considered as a visitation of Providence or an essential condition of the country, which has to be accepted and borne as best we can. But such is by no means the case, for in America, that land of progress, bold ideas and wonderful accomplishment, electricity has been pressed into the service of agriculture, until we have whole country districts intersected by electric wires. These wires are tapped for every farmer they pass, and they are used chiefly for driving pumps supplying water for the growing crops. In addition, the electric power is used for driving all kinds of machinery, such as threshers, cutters, cream separators, and the like.

The writer is not a farmer, but he believes he has sufficient knowledge of the agricultural problem of this country to know that the most crying need of the farmer to-day is irrigation, and his knowledge of modern electrical engineering developments permits him to assert fearlessly that irrigation projects will fall far short of the greatest success possible if they are not carried out in conjunction with a comprehensive electric scheme. For there are two ways in which these two branches of engineering dovetail admirably into one another. The first is in connection with the construction of large dams for the conservation of rainfall. The day is not far distant, I hope, when the Government will find it possible to build such dams in suitable spots. For a greater part of the year it is probable that a surplus amount of water will be flowing over these dams, and this water can be used for generating electricity. The second reason for employing electricity then naturally follows, which is that the current thus generated can be transmitted over the country for the benefit of the farmer who is out of range of a dam, and who may have to put down a borehole, and by means of an electric pump bring the water to the surface for his agricultural requirements. Of course, the scheme may not in all or even in many cases fit in so neatly, but there will, I am sure, be a great impetus imparted to South African agriculture, particularly in those districts subject to prolonged droughts, by employing electric motors for pumping. It may be necessary for the current to be specially generated. This should of course be done if possible near a coalfield. The northern parts of Natal are splendid agricultural country in seasons of regular rainfall. In the past few months frightful losses have been suffered during the drought, in both crops and in stock. I believe that a combined electric and irrigation scheme near the coalfields would be well worth investigation by experts competent to deal with both sides of the proposition. To show what is being done in this respect in the United States, I cull the following short article, headed "Rural Service to 700 Farmers," from "The Electrical World and Engineer":—

"Within the last four months more than 60 miles of secondary distribution lines have been built through the rich and productive farming country of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys near Stockton, Cal., by the Western States Gas & Electric Company. This central-station system now has a connected load of nearly 2,000 h.p. in the irrigation and farm service of some 700 ranches. The present network of secondary lines, built at an outlay of 90,000 dollars, covers 80 square miles of the best farming country, and has been laid out with extensions in view which will cover 200 square miles. Irrigation forms an important part of farming operations in this region, the addition of water to the land multiplying the productiveness from two to ten times. Irrigation plants operated by central-station service are always ready for use, and are started and stopped with no more effort than throwing a switch. Such power service is, of course, a great boon to the small farmer, and enhances the value of all land reached by the lines. The rates for electric service offered by the Western States Gas & Electric Company, which is managed by H. M. Byllesby & Company, are as follows: First

1,000 kw-hours, 3 cents per kw-hour; second 1,000 kw-hours, 2.5 cents; third 1,000 kw-hours, 2 cents; fourth 1,000 kw-hours, 1.5 cents. With electric power for irrigation, great crops of asparagus, celery, potatoes, onions, beans, grapes, and deciduous fruits are now made possible in this section. Within three months 1,500 h.p., mostly in small motors driving irrigating plants, have been connected to the central-station lines, and the prospective business in sight will shortly bring the connected load up to 2,500 h.p. The headquarters of the Western States operating division in the central California territory are at Stockton, where Mr. W. W. S. Butler is general manager."

Until the Government has time to devote itself to this question, it is possible that the Durban Corporation may see its way to carry out some pioneer move of the same kind. Already powers have been sought and obtained to carry electric lines outside the municipal boundaries. The day is probably not far distant when the inhabitants of all the suburbs, Bellair, Sea View, Malvern, etc., will have electric current within their reach, and in such rural communities some chance may present itself of proving whether or not the electric current may be made to serve the needs of the rural as well as the urban dweller in Natal. It has enabled us to improve conditions of our lives in the towns; can it not also make the desert to blossom as the rose?

In the foregoing I have indulged in no dreams, but confined myself to an outline of development which I see no reason should not be proceeded with in the immediate future. The state of the art has advanced to the point where electricity in rural districts could be brought into most useful service in the great industry of agriculture, which all South Africans earnestly believe has immense possibilities, which possibilities they hope in the no distant future will be fulfilled. But looking still a little further ahead, one would be justified, without very great stretch of imagination, in drawing a picture of the South African future in which electricity will play a most predominant part.

I foresee the day when the Government will have taken under its control the conservation of water, its supply to local communities as well as to agricultural districts for irrigation; when they will undertake the generation and the distribution of all electric current. We shall see electricity generated at all the principal waterfalls of the country, there being constructed in the neighbourhood of such falls huge dams converting extensive valleys into artificial lakes. At every coalfield there will be built great central generating works, and these, working in conjunction with the turbines at the waterfalls, will supply electric power to lines intersecting the whole of the country. Needless to say, the railways will be propelled by means of electric power. Every town and village will be supplied in bulk from the main wires or cables, the matter of the distribution of the current within their local boundaries being left to the local authorities to undertake.

The price at which the local communities will be able to buy current in bulk will be at such a low figure that electricity will be able to be used for all purposes of light, heat, power, and probably numerous other purposes which will spring up when cheap electricity is universally available. As this forecast is intended to have a more national than local bearing, I will not enlarge on the immense value to a community which will be derived from this cheap electric supply. It is a subject which would take up the space of this article to even briefly descant upon. Suffice it to say that one of its greatest boons will be the simplification of domestic work and the solution of the domestic servant problem. Outside the towns, many farmers in the more favoured localities will be supplied with water for direct irrigation over their lands. Where this is not possible, they will be supplied with electric power by means of which in many cases they will be able to pump water, and in all cases they will be able to use electric current for driving farm machinery and probably use electricity for ploughing, hauling, and the thousand and one applications of a labour-saving character which will all go to make agricultural operations speedier and with greater independence of labour. The poles of the electric lines will also carry telephone wires, and the farmer be brought into closer touch with his markets and the rest of the world.

Although the picture may appear at the present time to be a fancy one, the distance still to be traversed before it is realised is not so great as that which has been covered within the short space of the last ten years, and those who are the most able to judge have unhesitatingly expressed the opinion that the next decade will see even greater strides than the past.

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